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HISTORICAL CLASS BOOK;

OR,

Readings in Modern History,

CHRONOLOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL,

FROM

THE REFORMATION IN 1517

TO

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION IN 1848;

WITH

NOTICES OF THE MOST REMARKABLE INVENTIONS AND DISCOVERIES,

AND

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES OF CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

BY JOHN DAVENPORT,

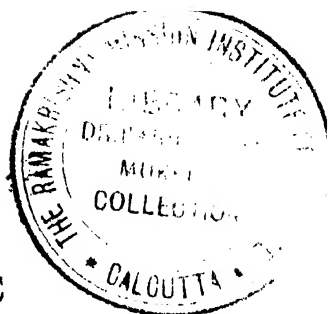
PART COMPILER OF PETRONJ AND DAVENPORT'S ITALIAN, FRENCH, AND
ENGLISH DICTIONARY; AUTHOR OF THE LIFE OF ALI PACHA,
TRAITE SUR LA PRONONCIATION ANGLAISE,
SOUVENIRS AUX ETRANGERS, ETC.

SECOND EDITION.

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1848.



NOTICE

THE object of the present work being set forth in the preface, a few words will suffice to explain its plan.

The first division of it is into centuries, commencing with the sixteenth, the Era of the Reformation.

Each century is preceded by a chronological table of contemporary sovereigns, and a general view of the then state of the civilized world; and closed by a brief retrospect of manners, customs, &c. and a list of inventions, discoveries, &c. &c.

The subdivisions consist of the different reigns of the English Monarchs.

The whole of the subject matter is further divided into Readings of easy length.

By this arrangement the student will not only acquire, in an agreeable manner, the knowledge of many of the most interesting events which have occurred in foreign countries, but will also be enabled

to refer them, with accuracy, to the reign of the British Monarch then upon the throne.

The selections have been made with the most scrupulous care, both as to purity of thought and propriety of diction, in order that the work may be placed, with the utmost confidence, in the hands of youth of both sexes.

In the few instances in which words above the comprehension of juvenile readers occur, the difficulty has been removed by a synonyme, or else by periphrase.

PREFACE.

THE works hitherto known by the names of *English Class Book*, *Diurnal Readings*, &c. &c. may be considered as of two descriptions—such as consist of a series of extracts taken from various authors, and strung together without the least regard to connexion either as to matter or style,—and such as, treating professedly of the History of England, confine their information exclusively thereto.

The least reflection will suffice to show the inconvenience, not to say mischief, of works of the former kind. The youthful mind cannot be too early accustomed to the systematic arrangement of a subject, to a just and natural succession of ideas ; how, otherwise, can it be expected to enter, with any prospect of success, upon the severer study of the mathematical sciences, or to acquire that precision and accuracy of thinking so essential in every profession of life ? An object so important can never be attained by allowing the tyro to indulge in a desultory course of reading like that which we have described.

As to the second kind of works, their sin is more that of omission than of defective arrangement. All confine themselves to the occurrences, interesting no doubt, which constitute the history of our country; but the reader necessarily rises from the perusal totally ignorant of many of those great and important collateral events, which, although occurring in foreign countries, have exercised so powerful an influence over our own.

To remedy both these defects is the object of the present work, in which the youth of both sexes will have presented to them a narrative, chronologically arranged, of many of the most interesting and striking events which have happened either in the old or the new world; characteristic sketches of men who have acquired celebrity by their virtues, their talents, or the services they have rendered their fellow-creatures; an accurate description of the progress of literature and the arts, together with general views of the manners and customs of the civilized world.

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*Table of Contemporary Sovereigns in the Sixteenth Century.
ending at the death of*

A.D.	ENGLAND.	SCOTLAND.	FRANCE.	HOLLAND.	GERMANY.	ROME.
1509	Henry VIII.	James IV.	Louis XII.	.....	Maximilian I.	Julius II.
1512
1513	James V.	.....	.....	.....	Leo X.
1515	Francis I.	.....	.....	.....
1516
1519	Charles V.	.....
1520
1522	Adrian VI.
1523	Clement VII
1524
1533
1534	Paul III.
1542	Mary.	.....	.....	.....	.....
1547	Edward VI.	.....	Henry II.	.....	.....	.....
1550	Julius III.
1553	Mary.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1555	Marcellinus II.
1556	Paul IV.
1557
1558	Elizabeth.	.....	.....	.....	Ferdinand I.	.....
1559	Francis II.	.....	.....	Pius IV.
1560	Charles IX.	.....	.....	.....
1564	Maximilian II.	.....
1566	Pius V.
1567	James VI.	.....	.....	.....	.....
1569
1572	Gregory XII
1574	Henry III.	.....	.....	.....
1576	Rodolph II.	.....
1579
1581	Stadtholder, William I.	.....	.....
1584	Maurice Barnavelt.	.....	.....
1585	Sextus V.
1589	Henry IV.	.....	.....	.....
1590	Urban VII.
1591	Gregory XIV
1592	Innocent IX
1595	Clement VII
1596
1598

NOTE.—The Dates refer to the time

commencing from the Accession of Henry VIII. in 1509, and
Queen Elizabeth in 1603.

[illegible]

Accession of the respective Monarchs.

THE HISTORICAL CLASS BOOK.

READING I.

GENERAL VIEW OF EUROPE AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

No period of history, ancient or modern, is so replete with interesting events and illustrious characters as the sixteenth century. All the monarchs who then filled the different thrones of Europe immortalized themselves, either by their renown in arms, the depth of their political sagacity, or the important revolutions which their errors or their passions produced.

In the East, Selim, the Commander of the Faithful, (*Emperor of the Turks*), after subjecting to the Ottoman power Syria and Egypt, which, for three centuries, had been in possession of the Mahometan Mamelukes, was succeeded by his son, Soliman II., who struck terror throughout Christendom by advancing to the very gates of Vienna, and who was afterwards crowned king of Persia, in the city of Bagdad, which had surrendered to his victorious arm.

In the North, Gustavus Vasa earned the throne of Sweden, by his valour and patriotism in freeing his country from a foreign yoke; while, in Muscovy, the two John Basilowitz emancipated (*delivered*) themselves and countrymen from the tyranny of the Tartars, beneath which they had so long groaned.

Charles V., master, under the titles of emperor and king, of Spain, Germany, and Italy, presented the first instance in Europe, since the time of Charlemagne, of a powerful emperor, and of a king of entire Spain, since the conquest of that country by the Moors.

Inferior in his good fortune to the emperor, but rivaling him in glory, and surpassing him in valour and all

the higher moral qualities, Francis I., king of France, divided, with his great competitor (*rival*), the esteem and admiration of their contemporaries (*persons living at the same time*). Covered with glory, although vanquished, he rendered his country flourishing, in spite of his misfortunes, and transplanted (*brought*) the fine arts, then at the acme (*height*) of their perfection in Italy, into France.

Our own Henry VIII., although rendered unworthy, by his cruelty, caprice, and tyranny, of being ranked in the list of heroes, claims association with his brother monarchs, as well on account of the revolution which he effected in the religious sentiments of his subjects, as for the new and important principle in politics which he introduced—that of maintaining a balance or equilibrium of power among the princes of Europe.

The illustrious head of the house of Medicis, Pope Leo X., justly commanded the admiration of the world, not less by the refinement of his wit and manners, than by his munificent (*liberal*) patronage (*support*) of the arts, and the protection and encouragement he afforded their professors. The great schism (*division*) in the church, also, which occurred during his popedom, imparts no ordinary degree of interest to his character and times.

A zeal for reformation in religion, which, at the commencement of this century, produced such important consequences in Germany, was not less active on the borders of Africa, and ended in a new race of kings establishing themselves in the vast empires of Morocco and Fez.

Whilst the old world was thus convulsed (*disturbed*), the new one, recently discovered by Columbus, was conquered by the captains of Charles V., and, about the same time, the arms and vessels of Portugal established commercial intercourse between Europe and Eastern India; the powerful empire of Mexico was subjected by Cortez; the Pizarros conquered Peru, with fewer soldiers than would have been required to besiege a small town in Europe; and Albuquerque, in the Indies, established the dominion and the power of Portugal, notwithstanding all the opposition of the native princes, and all the efforts of the Mussulmans then in possession of that trade.

But, the most extraordinary circumstance connected with this brilliant period is, that notwithstanding the

wars excited by ambition, notwithstanding the fierce religious disputes which continued to distract various states, the character of society and manners in general became greatly softened throughout the whole of Christian Europe, an effect chiefly attributable to the institution (*establishment*) of chivalry, but more particularly to the gallantry (*politeness*) of the court of Francis I. There existed between him and Charles V. an emulation (*rivalship*) of glory, a chivalrous (*knightly*) spirit of courtesy, which imparted to their age a character of elevated and refined urbanity till then unknown.

The increasing opulence (*riches*) of Western Europe also furthered this improvement in, and amelioration of, the manners of those times; and however paradoxical (*contradictory*) it may appear, this influx of wealth was chiefly owing to the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks, for, soon after that event, the whole of the commerce of the Ottomans was carried on by the Christians, who, taking in their cargoes of spices and other India produce at Alexandria, conveyed them to the ports of the Levant (*eastern part of the Mediterranean*), where they found a rapid and advantageous sale. The Venetians, more especially, were engaged in this trade, not only up to the time of the conquest of Egypt by Sultan Selim, but until the Portuguese power was in the ascendant (*at its height*).

Industry received a stimulus (*was promoted*) in every direction; Marseilles was a flourishing commercial city, rivalled only by Lyons in its beautiful manufactures. The towns of the Low Countries were more thriving (*prosperous*) and opulent (*rich*) than when under the dominion of the House of Burgundy. In London the manners were still comparatively rude, although that city already began to be enriched by commerce.

In Germany, the cities of Augsburg and Nuremberg, diffusing around the rich produce of Asia, which they procured from Venice, already felt the beneficial effect of their intercourse (*connexion*) with Italy. In short, Europe witnessed the revival (*renewal*) of tranquil times, notwithstanding its repose was frequently disturbed by the political storms originating in the rivalry of Charles and Francis, and although the religious quarrels, which had already commenced, darkened the close of the century,

and imparted to it a character of wildness and ferocity unknown even to the Heruli, the Vandals, and the Goths (*the barbarians who invaded the Roman empire in the fifth century*).

READING II.

ACCESSION OF HENRY VIII. OF ENGLAND.—BATTLE OF
FLODDEN FIELD.

1509—1513.

HENRY was only eighteen years of age when he succeeded to the throne of England. Impelled (*urged*) by a desire of acquiring military glory, he had, shortly after his accession, declared war against France, following up his defiance by an expedition which, after an ostentatious (*vain*) although ineffectual campaign, ended in a truce concluded between the two countries. It was while in his camp before Terouenne, that Henry received by the hands of Lion, the Scottish King at Arms, a letter from James IV. of Scotland, in which, after enumerating many injuries he had received from him, that monarch concluded by entreating him to desist from prosecuting the war in France, or otherwise he should take part with Louis against him. After consulting with his council, Henry delivered a letter to the herald, dated August 12th, written with great asperity (*sharpness*), and refusing in positive terms to desist from the prosecution of the war against France.

In the mean time, James, knowing that his letter would be of no avail, (*use*,) was eagerly engaged in raising an army to invade England in person. From this project the queen and some of the wisest of his nobility endeavoured to dissuade him, and when all the tears, entreaties and blandishments, (*fondness*,) of his queen, and all the arguments of his counsellors were ineffectual, a stratagem was had recourse to. As the king was one evening at vespers (*evening prayers*) in St. Michael's church at Linlithgow, a tall personage of a venerable aspect, with a long beard, dressed in a gown of azure blue, girt about his body with a white sash, made his way through the crowd, and leaning

on the king's desk, said, " I am sent from heaven, O king ! to warn you not to proceed on your intended enterprise, which will prove unfortunate ; and to charge you to abstain from all familiarities with women, or the consequences will be most fatal." Having spoken thus, he retired. When prayers were ended the king inquired for him, in order to examine him, but he could not be found, having, most probably, retired to his accomplices in the palace, which is only a few paces from the church.

All the arguments and arts that were employed to dissuade or deter James from his intended expedition, served only to render him more determined and precipitate. Without waiting for all his forces, he passed the Tweed, August 22d, and in a few days made himself master of the castles of Wark, Norham, Heaton and Etat, and in part demolished them. The castle of Ford was also taken, but preserved from demolition (*ruin*) by its fair owner. In this castle, it is said, James forgot the charge that had been given him by the apparition at Linlithgow, and, captivated by the conversation or personal charms of the lady, mis-spent his time and neglected his affairs. The army remained about Ford several days in a state of inaction, great numbers taking that opportunity of deserting and returning home, some to secure the booty they had won, and others from discontent, or to avoid fatigue or danger. By this most unseasonable desertion, the army was equally weakened and dispirited.

As the English had long expected, so they were well prepared for, this invasion. As soon as the Earl of Surrey received intelligence that the Scots were beginning to collect their forces, he despatched messengers to all the noblemen and gentlemen in the northern counties to meet him, with all their followers, who had been mustered and trained, on the first day of September, at Newcastle. He set out from York August 27th, and though the roads were bad and the weather stormy, he marched day and night till he arrived at Durham ; there he received the news of the surrender of Norham, which was believed to be impregnable (*not to be taken*), and whose captain had promised to keep the Scots at bay till the king returned from France. Having received the banner of St. Cuthbert from the prior, he proceeded, August 30th, to Newcastle, where he was joined by Lord

Dacre, and many other chieftains, with their followers. Here a council of war was held, and the troops from all parts were appointed to rendezvous (*meet*), September 4th, at Bolton, in Glendale, about twenty miles from Ford, where the Scots army lay. The Earl marched from Newcastle, September 3d, to make room for the forces that were daily coming forward, and arrived at Alnwick that evening. There, on Sunday, September 4th, he was joined by his heroic son, the lord admiral of England, with a body of choice troops from the English army before Terouenne; this most fortunate junction at so critical a time gave great joy to the earl his father and to the whole army.

From Alnwick, the Earl of Surrey sent Rouge-Croix, the *poursuivant at arms* (*herald*) to the king, to accuse him of having broken the solemn oath he had taken to observe the treaty of perpetual peace, and to offer him battle on Friday, September 9th, if he dared to abide (*remain*) till then in the territories of his master the king of England. The lord admiral sent a message to the king by the same herald, "that he had come from the continent to justify his having put to death the pirate Andrew Bertoun; that he would take no quarter and give none to any but the king." James, consulting only his own intrepid spirit, accepted the offer of a battle with alacrity (*cheerfulness*), and in a short paper written by his Secretary vindicated (*defended*) himself from the accusation of having broken his oath by observing, "our brother was bound as far to us as we to him; and when we swore last before his ambassadors, in presence of our council, we expressed specially in our oath that we would keep to our brother if our brother kept to us, and not else. We swear our brother broke first to us." We hear of no answer he made to the lord admiral.

His nobility had before this earnestly importuned (*entreated*) their king to return into Scotland, and supported their advice by strong arguments; "he had done enough," they said, "for his allies, by detaining so great an army at home, and causing so many troops to return from the continent. He had also gained sufficient honour by taking and demolishing so many castles and enriching his subjects with the spoils of their enemies. So many of their followers had gone home with these spoils, and those who

remained were so much weakened by fatigue and scarcity of provisions, that their army was become so inferior to that of the enemy both in strength and numbers, that the risk on both sides was not equal ; Scotland hazarded her king and almost all her nobility ; England only a part of her nobility and common people ; nor did the advantages to be gained by a victory bear any proportion to the ruinous consequences of a defeat." Lord Lindsay of the Byres, a rough old soldier, thus exemplified the unequal stakes of both armies, "I compare your lordships," said he, "to an honest merchant, who would, in his voyage, go to dice with a common hazarder, and there-to jeopardy (*risk*) a rose-noble (*ancient coin, worth 6s. 8d.*) on a cast against a gleed (*crooked*) halfpenny, which if this merchant wins, it will be counted but little, or else nought ; but if he tynes (*loses*) he tynes his honour, with that piece of gold, which is of more value. So my lords, ye may understand by this, ye shall be called the merchant, and your king a rose-noble, and England the common hazarder, who has nothing to jeopardy but a gleed halfpenny, in comparison of your noble king, and an old crooked carle (*worthless man*) lying in a chariot." James is said to have been so incensed at this advice as to have threatened to hang Lindsay at his own castle gate. He was equally enraged with similar counsel given him by the Earl of Angus, the once terrible "Bell-the-Cat," the king, in a passion, telling him, "if he was afraid, to be gone." This taunt touched the old man to the quick, and he burst into tears, and departing said in mournful accents, "My age renders my body of no use in battle, and my counsel is despised ; but I leave my two sons and the vassals of Douglas in the field : may old Angus's foreboding prove unfounded !"

READING III.

BATTLE OF FLODDEN FIELD.—CONCLUDED.

1513.

THE noblemen and other chieftains finding the king was determined to give the enemy battle, entreated him

to choose an advantageous situation, and prevailed on him to remove his camp from Ford to Flodden, a rising ground at a small distance on the skirts (*borders*) of Cheviot. This was a very well chosen post, which might have been made very strong by a little art and labour. But these were not employed; only a battery was formed, and mounted with cannon pointing directly upon the bridge over the river Till. The soldiers built huts of earth, and covered them with straw, to screen (*defend*) themselves from the inclemency of the weather, which was very rainy, and there waited the approach of the enemy.

When all the English force rendezvoused at Bolton, September 5th, they were found to amount to 26,000 fighting men, well armed and appointed (*furnished*) in all respects, and impatient for action. They marched, September 6th, to Woollerhaugh, within three miles of the Scots camp, and there rested all the next day. The Earl of Surrey having discovered by his spies the situation the Scots had chosen, formed a scheme which he hoped would make them relinquish that advantage. Knowing the king's undaunted courage and high sense of honour, he wrote a letter, subscribed by himself and all the great men in his army, reproaching him for having changed his ground after he had accepted the offer of battle, and challenging him to descend, like a brave and honourable prince, into the spacious vale of Minfield that lay between the two armies, and there decide the quarrel on fair and equal terms. This scheme did not succeed. The king would not admit the herald who brought the letter into his presence, but sent him this verbal answer, "That it did not become an earl to dictate to a king: that he would use no dishonourable arts, and expected victory from the justice of his cause and the bravery of his subjects, and not from any advantage of ground."

The English army decamped from Woollerhaugh, September 8th; but instead of marching down the banks of the Till towards the Scots, they passed that river near Wooller, directed their course towards Berwick, and encamped that night at Barmore. This made the Scots noblemen imagine that the enemy designed to pass the Tweed at Berwick, and plunder the fertile country of the Merse; and they importuned their sovereign to decamp,

and march to the defence of his own dominions. But he declared that his honour was engaged, and that he was determined to abide there all the next day, which was the day appointed for the battle.

The English decamped from Barmore, Friday, September 9th, and directed their course towards the Tweed ; which seems to have convinced the Scots that they designed to pass that river. About noon they set fire to their huts, the smoke of which prevented them from seeing their enemies, who had changed their direction, and marched with great expedition towards the Till. When the smoke was dissipated, the English infantry was seen passing that river by Twisel bridge, and the cavalry at a ford a little higher. At that moment, Robert Borthwick, who commanded the artillery, fell on his knees before the king, and begged his permission to fire upon the bridge, which, he said, he could break down, and prevent the rear of the enemy from passing. " If you fire one shot upon the bridge," cried the infatuated monarch, " you shall be hanged, drawn, and quartered. I am resolved to have all my enemies before me, and fight them fairly." His nobles pressed him to take his station on a rising ground in the rear of the army, whence he might see the whole field and give the necessary commands. " No," said he, " I will live and die with my brave subjects ; and if we obtain the victory, as I hope we shall, I will have my share of the honour." An imprudent and fatal resolution !

As soon as the English passed the Till they were drawn up in two lines, each consisting of a main battle (*bódy*) as it was called, in the centre, and two wings, with a strong body of reserve in the rear of both lines. The Scots were drawn up in one line, and with a body of reserve in the rear. The battle began about four o'clock in the afternoon by a discharge of the artillery on both sides. Those of the Scots being situated too high, the balls flew over the heads of their enemies ; but those of the English did great execution, which made the Scots impatient to come to a closer engagement. The Earls of Huntley and Hume made a furious attack upon the right wing of the English, and threw it into disorder ; Sir Edmund Howard, who commanded it, retreating upon the centre. The battle was here restored by Lord Dacre

bringing up the English reserve, and compelling Huntley and Hume to flee in their turns. The undisciplined highlanders in the right wing of the Scots army observing the momentary impression made by Huntley and Hume, became ungovernable, broke their ranks, and rushed down in a tumultuary manner upon the left wing of the English, commanded by Stanley. They were received with a calm and steady courage; and, after a fierce and bloody struggle, in which their two leaders, the Earls of Argyle and Lennox fell, they were put to flight and pursued a considerable way up the hill. Stanley now charged the king's centre in its right flank (*side*) and rear; while Surrey attacked it in front, and Admiral Howard and Lord Dacre on the left. It was when thus surrounded and hemmed in by his enemies, that might be seen the devotion of the nobles and meanest vassals to their unfortunate prince. Even when they saw their beloved monarch fall, his body pierced by an English arrow, and his head cleft (*cut asunder*) by an English bill (*battle axe*), they closed round the corpse, and bravely defended it against a host of assailants. The battle continued raging with uncommon fury and great slaughter, till night put an end to the bloody contest, without its being known who had obtained the victory. The English retired a little from the field, and rested all night upon their arms. The Scots having lost their leaders, and being near their own country, went off in small parties in the night, some over the Tweed at Coldstream, and others by the dry marshes. The Earl of Hume and his numerous followers, who had not engaged in the last cruel conflict, and others who joined them, remained on the field all night, employed in stripping the dead, and retired early in the morning with their booty, leaving the cannon behind them.

When the English approached the field of battle next morning, they found it abandoned, and no enemy to be seen. The king's body was found among the dead, and known by the Lord Dacre, who had been ambassador at his court only a few months before, and was perfectly well acquainted with his person. It was conveyed to Berwick; and there shown to Sir William Scot and Sir John Foreman, his serjeant-porter, who burst into tears at the sight, and acknowledged that it was the body of their beloved master. From Berwick it was sent to New-

castle, and from that city was taken to London by the Earl of Surrey, who afterwards deposited it in the monastery of Sheen, near Richmond. The unfortunate monarch's sword and dagger, as well as a turquois ring, said to have been presented to him by the Queen of France, are still preserved in the Heralds' College, London. No doubt therefore remains of the identity of the body, and thus the idle contradictory tales of his escape from the battle, so long and fondly believed in by the vulgar, are unworthy of the least degree of credit. Alexander Stewart, Archbishop of St. Andrews, the king's natural son, and the pupil of Erasmus, a youth of great hopes, was found dead by the side of his royal father; with George Shepburn, the marshal bishop of the isles, and the Abbots of Kilwinning and Incheffray. No fewer than twelve earls, thirteen lords, and about four hundred knights and gentlemen of Scotland fell in this fatal battle. James was killed in the thirty-ninth year of his age, and the twenty-fifth of his reign.

READING IV.

AMERICA.—CONQUEST OF MEXICO BY FERNANDO CORTEZ.
1519.

It was only six years after the fatal battle which we have just described, that an event fraught (*laden*) with the utmost consequences to Europe, occurred in the New World, which had been discovered by Columbus in the preceding century. This was the conquest of Mexico by Fernando Cortez, an achievement (*deed*) which will form an interesting subject of study and reflection.

Velasquez, governor of the island of Cuba, with the intention of signaling his administration (*government*) by some discoveries, fitted out a small expedition, which he confided to the command of Fernando Cortez; and that gallant soldier is said to have accomplished what appears too bold even for fiction, the overthrow of an empire that could send millions into the field, with no greater force than 600 men, 18 horses, and a few pieces of artillery. He

was at first lucky enough to meet with a Spaniard, who, having been nine years a prisoner at Yucatan, a town on the route to Mexico, served him as an interpreter, and he also attached himself to a beautiful American, named Marianna, who soon learned the Castilian language, and became his mistress and his counsellor. To complete his good fortune, he discovered a volcano full of sulphur, as well as a mine of saltpetre, and thus secured a constant supply of ammunition.

Encouraged by these fortunate circumstances, Cortez advanced along the coasts of the Gulf of Mexico, at one time gaining over the natives by kindness, at another subduing them by force of arms. As he progressed he found, to his astonishment, many populous towns, in which the arts were fostered and protected. The powerful republic of Tlascala, which was flourishing under an aristocratical government, opposed his passage; but the sight of his horses, and the thunder alone of his artillery, put to flight the ill armed multitudes which endeavoured to arrest his march. Thus practically convinced of the mighty superiority of the invader, the Tlascalans eagerly entered into a treaty with Cortez, and became useful and faithful allies.

The Spaniard now entered the dominions of Montezuma, the Mexican emperor, without experiencing the least resistance, and had not proceeded above two or three days' march when he was met by ambassadors from the prince, who endeavoured by magnificent presents to induce the invaders to depart from their coast. The delay occasioned by this embassy was very opportune (*seasonable*). Had an army, instead of negotiators, met him on his first landing, the ruin of Cortez would have been almost inevitable. He replied to the envoys (*persons sent*) that he was but an ambassador himself, and, as such, it was his duty, ere he departed, to have an audience of the emperor. This answer disconcerted (*embarrassed*) Montezuma's ambassadors, and upon its being made known to the monarch, he became alarmed, and redoubled his presents, but these, as well as persuasion, were fruitless. Cortez remaining resolute, the ambassadors at length employed threats, and boasted of the military and pecuniary resources of their country.

"These," said Cortez, turning to his companions,

“these are what we seek ; great perils and great riches.” In fact, what stronger incentives could have been administered to the chivalric spirit and the cupidity of a band of needy adventurers ? Their leader saw conquest in their looks ; and having now received the necessary information, and prepared himself against all hazards, he boldly marched toward the seat of empire, and advanced uninterrupted to the gates of Mexico.

The city of Mexico, built in the midst of a large lake, was the finest monument of American art : immense causeways (*raised paved roads*) intersected (*divided*) the lake, which seemed covered with small boats made of the trunks of trees. In the town itself were spacious and commodious houses built of stone, markets and shops resplendent and glittering with articles of luxury, manufactured of gold and silver, sculpture, porcelain beautifully varnished, cotton stuffs, and cloth woven with feathers of the most brilliant hues. Near the principal market was a palace, wherein justice was publicly administered to the merchants and traders. Several other palaces, belonging to Montezuma, increased the splendour of the town. One of these stood upon columns of jasper, being appropriated for the reception of curiosities of every description. Another was filled with weapons offensive and defensive, enriched with precious stones ; a third was surrounded by vast gardens, in which nothing but medicinal herbs were cultivated ; persons properly qualified distributed them to the sick ; the result of their application was reported to the king, and the physicians kept a register of them, in a manner peculiar to a country in which the art of writing was not known. The pompous descriptions which have been given of this city by the Spanish historians, must, however, be received with some caution. The mechanical arts could not have been carried to great perfection in a country where the use of iron was unknown ; nor could the sciences or liberal arts be cultivated with success among a people ignorant of letters. The hieroglyphics (*pictorial writing*), which the Mexicans are said to have used for the communication of their ideas, could but imperfectly answer that end, in comparison with general signs or symbols ; and without an easy method of recording past events, society can never make considerable progress. The ferocious religion of the Mexicans is another proof of

their barbarity. Human blood was profusely (*plentifully*) shed upon the altars of the Mexican gods ; nay, according to the most respectable Spanish historians, human flesh was greedily devoured both by the priests and people.

The ambassadors of Montezuma assured Cortez that their master had, during his wars, sacrificed before the idol Visiliputsli, in the grand temple of Mexico, twenty thousand enemies yearly ; but this is, no doubt, an exaggeration invented by the Spaniards for the purpose of rendering the atrocities of the conqueror of Montezuma less frightful by the contrast. It is, however, certain, that when the Spaniards entered that temple, they found human skulls suspended from the walls and the roof by way of trophies.

READING V.

CONQUEST OF MEXICO.—CONCLUDED.

THE invaders having arrived before Mexico, Montezuma was struck with terror and irresolution. That mighty emperor, whose treasures were immense, and whose sway (*power*) was absolute ; who was lord over thirty princes, each of whom could bring a numerous army into the field, was so intimidated (*alarmed*) by the defeat of the Tlascalans, that he wanted resolution to strike a blow in defence of his dignity. The haughty potentate (*prince*) who had ordered Cortez to depart from his coast, introduced him into his capital. Instead of making use of force, he had recourse to perfidy (*treachery*), for while he professed friendship to the Spanish general, he sent an army to attack the Spanish colony, newly settled at Vera Cruz, and yet in a feeble condition. Cortez received due intelligence of this breach of faith, and took one of the boldest resolutions ever formed by man. He immediately proceeded to the imperial palace, accompanied by five of his principal officers ; arrested Montezuma as his prisoner ; carried him off to the Spanish quarters, compelled him to deliver up to punishment the officer who had acted by his orders, and to acknowledge himself, publicly, in the seat of his power, the vassal (*subject*) of the king of Spain.

Montezuma, and the chiefs of the empire, then delivered to Cortez, as the tribute annexed to their homage, six hundred thousand marks of pure gold, together with an incredible quantity of jewels, and pieces of exquisite workmanship in gold, with whatever the industry of several ages had accumulated of rare and valuable articles. Cortez reserved a fifth part of these treasures for the use of his master, kept another fifth for himself, and divided the rest among his soldiers.

It is a matter worthy of remark, that notwithstanding the mutual jealousies and divisions which reigned among the conquerors of the New World, and which were carried to the greatest extremes, their conquests never suffered. Never did truth wear so little an appearance of probability. While Cortez was subduing the empire of Mexico with five hundred men, which were all he had left, Velasquez, the governor of Cuba, more offended at the reputation which his lieutenant had gained, than at his want of submission to his authority, sent almost all the troops he had under his command, which consisted of eight hundred foot, and eighty horsemen, well mounted, together with two small pieces of cannon, to reduce Cortez, and take him prisoner, and afterwards to pursue the plan of his victories.

Cortez, who had now a thousand of his own countrymen to fight against, and the whole continent to keep in subjection, left eighty of his people to take care of the kingdom of Mexico, and marched with the rest to give battle to those whom Velasquez had sent against him. He defeated one part, and found means to gain over the rest. In short, this little army which came bent upon his destruction, enlisted under his standard, and he led them back to Mexico.

The emperor was still confined in prison, guarded by the eighty men whom Cortez had left behind in the city. Alvarado, the name of the officer who commanded them, on a false report that the Mexicans had formed a conspiracy to deliver their emperor, took the opportunity of a public festival, while two thousand of the principal lords of the kingdom were drowned in the excess of strong liquors, to fall upon them with fifty of his soldiers, who murdered them and all their attendants, without the least resistance; after which he stripped them of all the gold

ornaments and jewels with which they had decked themselves upon this public occasion. This enormous outrage, which was justly imputed to a villainous avarice, effectually roused these too patient people, who instantly revolted against their perfidious conquerors; and when Cortez arrived at Mexico, he found two hundred thousand Americans in arms against his eighty Spaniards, who with difficulty defended themselves and kept the emperor in their custody. The Mexicans besieged Cortez in his quarters, resolved to deliver their prince; and without the least regard to their lives, rushed in crowds upon the cannon and small arms, which made a dreadful slaughter among them. Montezuma judged this a favourable opportunity for obtaining his freedom and the departure of the Spaniards. On those conditions, he consented to employ his good offices with the people. He showed himself on the ramparts, clad in his royal robe, and endeavoured to induce the multitude to retire. They at first seemed overawed by the presence of their sovereign, and ready to obey his commands, but suddenly recollecting the pusillanimity (*cowardice*) of his behaviour, their love was changed into hate, their veneration into contempt, and a stone, launched by an indignant hand, at once deprived Montezuma of empire and of life.

That accident gave sincere concern to Cortez, and was a real misfortune to the Spaniards. The successor of Montezuma was a fierce and warlike prince, resolutely determined to support the independence of his country. Cortez, after several ineffectual struggles, found himself under the necessity of quitting the city. The Mexicans harassed him in his retreat, took from him all his baggage and treasure, and engaged him in the field with an army astonishingly numerous; the ensigns of various nations waved in the air, and the imperial standard of massy gold was displayed. Now was the time for heroism, and stronger proofs of it were never exhibited than in the valley of Otumba. "Death or victory!" was the war-cry and the resolution of every Spaniard. The Mexicans were soon thrown into confusion, and a terrible slaughter ensued; but fresh crowds still pressing on supplied the place of the slain, and the Spaniards must have sunk under the fatigue of continual fighting, had not Cortez, by a happy presence of mind, put an end to

the dispute, and rendered the victory decisive. He rushed at the head of his cavalry towards the imperial standard, closed with the Mexican general who guarded it, and at one stroke of his lance hurled him from his litter. The standard was seized, and the consequence proved as Cortez had expected; the Mexicans threw down their arms and fled with precipitation and terror.

This victory, and the assistance of the Tlascalans, encouraged Cortez to undertake the siege of Mexico, and another fortunate circumstance enabled him to complete his conquest. The new emperor, Guatimozin, was taken prisoner in attempting to make his escape out of his capital, in order to rouse to arms the distant provinces of his dominions. The metropolis surrendered, and the whole empire submitted to the Spaniards.

READING VI.

THE FIELD OF THE CLOTH OF GOLD.

1520.

FRANCIS I. having by the death of his predecessor, Louis XII., ascended the throne of France, renewed the treaty which Louis had made with the English monarch, and, being well acquainted with the latter's character, endeavoured to accommodate his conduct to it. For this purpose he solicited an interview near Calais, in expectation of being able, by familiar conversation, to gain upon his friendship and confidence. Wolsey, the well-known chancellor, favourite, and counsellor of Henry, seconded this proposal, hoping, in the presence of both courts, to make a parade (*show*) of his riches, splendour, and influence over both monarchs. This expensive congress (*meeting*) was accordingly held between Ardres and Guisnes, near Calais, within the English pale (*territory*), in compliment to Henry for crossing the sea.

Henry spent three days at Calais to finish the preparations for the approaching interview, and set out on his way to Guisnes, June 4th, with his queen, the queen dowager of France, and all his court. The king, beside

all his guards and servants, and all the noblemen and gentlemen of his household, was attended by one cardinal, one archbishop, seven bishops, two dukes, one marquis, eight earls, and eighteen lords, with all their numerous followers, and many knights and gentlemen. The queen, beside all the ladies, officers, and servants of her household, was attended by three bishops, one earl, three lords, thirty-three knights, one duchess, seven countesses, fifteen baronesses, nineteen knights' wives, and many gentlewomen with all their attendants. The suite, or rather court of the cardinal was nearly as numerous as that of the king. All the prelates, lords, and ladies, vied (*contended*) with one another in the richness of their dresses and number of their followers. In a word, the court of England made a most splendid appearance on this occasion, and exhibited a magnificent display of the wealth of their country, and the vanity of their king.

Great preparations had been made at Guisnes for the reception of this illustrious company. Two thousand artificers (*mechanics*) of different kinds had been employed for several months in building a splendid wooden palace near the castle, for the accommodation of the king and queen, with the principal lords and ladies of the court. This palace formed a square surrounding a court, each side of which was three thousand and twenty-eight feet in length. The walls and roof were adorned on the outside with a great number of statues of warriors in the act of discharging weapons of various kinds. Over the great gateway was a colossal (*enormous*) statue of a savage, armed with a bow and arrows, with this inscription below it, *Cui adhæreo præest*;—He to whom I adhere prevails. The inside of the palace was divided into state rooms and lodging-rooms; the roofs of which were painted, the walls hung with silks or tapestry, the floors covered with Turkey carpets, and all richly furnished. On one side of the great gate was a fountain running with white and red wine, and hippocras (*spiced wine*), with this inscription, "Make merry who will," and a statue of Bacchus on the top. On the other side of the gate was an obelisk (*a kind of pyramid*), with a statue of Cupid on the top, in the attitude of discharging arrows at those who entered. Contiguous (*adjoining*) to this palace were built elegant convenient lodges for all the great officers of the

household : as the lord chamberlain, lord treasurer, lord steward, the comptroller, and board of green cloth (*court of justice of the king's household*) ; and houses for all the offices, as the ewry, pantry, cellar, buttery, spicery, larder, poultry, pitcher-house, &c. On the plain around the palace were pitched two thousand eight hundred tents, many of them large and magnificent, covered with cloth of gold or silk. All the houses in the town of Guisnes were crowded, and several persons of rank and fortune were forced to lodge in barns, and sleep on hay or straw. Beside the great multitude of his own subjects of all ranks, who accompanied the king of England on this occasion, and beside the vast number of foreign princes and princesses, and nobility of both sexes who frequented his court, and were nobly entertained, we are told by an historian who was present, "that during this triumph (which lasted twenty days) much people of Picardy and Flanders drew to Guisnes to see the king of England and his honour, to whom victuals of the court were given in plenty, and the conduit of the gate ran wine always. There were vagagonds, ploughmen, labourers, waggoners, and beggars, that for drunkenness lay in routs and heaps. So great resort thither came, that both knights and ladies that were come to see that nobleness, were fain (*obliged*) to lie in hay and straw, and held them thereof highly pleased." If to the above were added a description of the dresses of the king, the queen, ladies, lords, and knights, in which nothing was seen but silks, velvets, cloth of gold, embroidery, and jewels, we might form some idea of the immense expense in which this vain display involved Henry and his most opulent subjects. "Many of the nobles," says a writer who was a spectator of this glittering scene, "carried their castles, woods, and farms, on their backs."

READING VII.

HENRY VIII.—THE FIELD OF THE CLOTH OF GOLD.—
CONCLUDED.

THE king of France with his queen and court, as numerous and at least as gay and sparkling as that of

England, arrived at Ardres in the beginning of June. Cardinal Wolsey, to whom both kings had given authority to regulate all the circumstances of their interview, went from Guisnes to Ardres, June 7th, in all the pomp his riches enabled and his pride prompted him to exhibit, which was such as struck the French with astonishment. Francis, who ardently desired to gain him, received him with the most flattering marks of affection and respect. He spent two days in negotiating with the French ministers ; but in these negotiations no uncommon cordiality (*friendly feeling*) appeared ; nothing of importance was concluded, and only a few trifling articles were added to the former treaties. Vain parade and bustle are unfriendly to real business.

When Wolsey published his orders for regulating this famous interview, they appeared to breathe a spirit of mutual diffidence (*mistrust*) ; and if the two monarchs had been the bitterest enemies, greater precautions could not have been taken to prevent the one from taking the other prisoner. This mutual distrust appeared in a strong light on the day of the first interview. Both kings drew up their followers in a kind of battle array ; both set out the same moment, upon the firing of a cannon from Guisnes, which was answered by one from Ardres. When the French had advanced a little, an alarm arose of some danger ; Francis alighted, and remained for some time in suspense, but being encouraged by Monsieur Morret, he remounted and proceeded. Soon after a similar alarm arose among the English ; the king halted ; but Lord Shrewsbury said " Sir, I have seen the Frenchmen ; they be more in fear of you and your subjects, than your subjects be of them ; wherefore, if I were worthy to give counsel, your grace should march forward." " So we intend, my lord," said the king. Then the officers of arms cried " On afore" (*advance*). At last the two kings met ; embraced on horseback, then alighted, embraced again, and went arm in arm into a tent of cloth of gold prepared for their reception. Here they held a secret conference (*conversation*). Henry proposed to make some amendments in the articles of their former alliance ; and he began to read the treaty, *I, Henry, king* : these were the first words ; and he stopped a moment. He subjoined only the words of *England*, without adding *France*, the

usual style (*title*) of the English monarchs. Francis remarked this delicacy, and expressed, by a smile, his approbation of it. After this they dined together, and then separated for that time.

After this the king of France visited the queen of England in her palace at Guisnes, where he dined, and spent the day in dancing and other amusements, while the king of England acted the same part at Ardres. But all their movements were still regulated by the cumbersome (*troublesome*) etiquette (*ceremonial*) established by the cardinal. Francis, who earnestly desired to gain the confidence and friendship of his brother monarch, first broke through the embarrassing regulations. He mounted early in the morning, and rode towards Guisnes, attended only by two gentlemen and a page. A body of two hundred English, who were upon guard, and knew him, were greatly surprised at his appearance. "Surrender your arms," cried Francis, "and conduct me to my brother." Henry was still in bed, Francis drew open his curtains, and awaked him. Nothing could equal his surprise, when he saw the king of France at the side of his bed. "You have gained a victory over me," said he, "my dear brother ; I yield myself your prisoner, and plight (*pledge*) you my faith." He then took from his neck a collar of pearls, worth 15,000 angels (about £9000 sterling), and putting it about Francis's, begged him to wear it for the sake of his prisoner. The French monarch taking a bracelet of still greater value from his own arm, tied it about Henry's, with the same request. From that time the intercourse between the two kings and their courts became more free and confidential.

Both Henry and Francis delighted and excelled in the martial and manly exercises of those times, and took this opportunity of displaying their courage and skill in arms, as well as their magnificence. Herald's had been sent into all parts, to proclaim the challenge of the kings of France and England, as brothers in arms, with fourteen companions, at tilts and tournaments ; and to invite all valourous knights and gentlemen to come and accept the challenge. The wrestling match between the two monarchs is thus related by an eye-witness :—"After the tournaments the English and French wrestlers made their appearance, ~~and wrestled before the kings and the ladies ;~~

the English gained the prize. After this the kings retired to a tent and drank together ; and the king of England seizing the king of France by the collar, said, ' My brother, I must wrestle with you ; ' he endeavoured to trip up his heels ; but the king of France, who is a dexterous wrestler, twisted him round, and threw him on the ground with great violence. The king of England attempted to renew the combat, but was prevented." The brilliant feats (*deeds*) of arms commenced June 11th, and ended June 23d. Francis spent the next day at Guisnes, with the queen and court of England ; and Henry at Ardres, with the queen and court of France. On their return the two monarchs met, and spent much time in familiar conversation, and expressions of mutual esteem and friendship ; after which they embraced, and took their leave of one another.

Henry, with his court and queen, returned to Calais, June 25, where the cardinal assembled all the English lords, knights, and gentlemen, thanked them for their honourable attendance on the king, and gave them leave to send home one-half of their followers.

Great preparations were then made for visiting the emperor (Charles V.) at Gravelines, and receiving a visit from him at Calais. Accordingly, Henry set out July 10, with a splendid retinue, and was met by the emperor and conducted into Gravelines. Charles had given orders to entertain all the English in the most friendly and honourable manner, to efface (*remove*) any impression that might have been made upon them in favour of the French at the late interview ; and they seem to have been much pleased with their entertainment. Henry returned next day to Calais, accompanied by the emperor, his aunt Margaret, and the imperial court. Henry had caused a stupendous (*huge*) fabric (*building*) of wood to be erected for their reception. It was of a circular form, eight hundred feet in circumference ; and the ceiling was painted with a representation of the heavenly bodies : but the roof of it was so much damaged by a storm of wind, that it could not be repaired in time. Three days were spent in a continual round of banqueting (*feasting*), masquerades, balls, and other diversions. But Charles was not so much captivated by these vain amusements as to neglect business. On the contrary, he laboured with sq

much art and assiduity (*perseverance*) to gain the favour of Wolsey, and consequently that of his master, that he succeeded ; and their professions of inviolable friendship to his rival, Francis, were forgotten. After the departure of the emperor, Henry returned to England, with his queen and court, having squandered, in a short time, an incredible mass of treasure to no purpose.

READING VIII.

CHARLES V.—FRANCIS I.—BATTLE OF PAVIA.

1525.

SHORTLY after the above-described splendid interview, the violent personal rivalry and political jealousy which had arisen between the emperor and the French king broke out into open hostilities. Henry's conduct in the long and obstinate wars between those princes was wholly directed by Wolsey, whose present object of ambition was nothing less than the papal tiara (*a triple crown*) which he was in hopes would grace his brow, through the interest of the emperor. Charles, however, having twice deceived him, the mortified (*disappointed*) cardinal induced his master to espouse the cause of Francis, who had now the utmost need of his assistance, having been made prisoner in the disastrous battle of Pavia.

This celebrated engagement was fought on the 24th February, 1525. Francis having entered Piedmont at the head of his army, and received the keys of Milan, the forces of the emperor retired to Lodi ; and had the French monarch been so fortunate as to have pursued them, they must have abandoned that post and been totally dispersed. But his evil genius determined him to lay siege to Pavia, a town of considerable strength, and defended by Antonio de Leyva, one of the bravest officers in the Spanish service. In the mean time, the Imperialists, under Pescara and Lennoy, advanced to the relief of the town. On the first intelligence of their approach, all his most experienced officers advised Francis to decline battle with an enemy who courted it from despair.

The leaders of the Imperialists, they observed, would either be obliged in a few weeks to disband an army which they were unable to pay, and which they kept together only by the hope of pillage, or the soldiers, enraged at the non-performance of the promises to which they had trusted, would rise in some furious mutiny, which would allow them to think of nothing but their own safety ; that, meanwhile, he might encamp in some strong post, and waiting in safety the arrival of fresh troops from France and Switzerland, might, before the end of spring, take possession of all the Milanese, without danger or bloodshed. But, in opposition to them, Bonnivet, whose destiny it was to give counsels fatal to France during the whole campaign, represented the ignominy that it would reflect on the sovereign, if he should abandon a siege which he had prosecuted so long, or turn his back before an enemy to whom he was still superior in numbers ; and insisted on, the necessity of fighting the Imperialists, rather than relinquish an undertaking on the success of which the king's future fame depended. Unfortunately, Francis's notions of honour were delicate to an excess that bordered on what was romantic ; and having often said that he would take Pavia or perish in the attempt, thought himself bound not to depart from his word. The Imperial generals found the French so strongly entrenched (*fortified*), that notwithstanding the powerful motives which urged them on, they hesitated long before they ventured to attack them ; but at last the necessities of the besieged, and the murmurs of their soldiers, obliged them to put every thing to hazard. Never did armies engage with greater ardour, or with a higher opinion of the importance of the battle which they were going to fight ; never were troops more strongly animated with emulation, national antipathy, (*hatred*), mutual resentment, and all the passions which inspire obstinate bravery. On the one hand, a gallant young monarch, seconded by a generous nobility, and followed by subjects to whose natural impetuosity, indignation at the opposition which they had encountered (*met with*) added new force, contended for victory and honour. On the other side, troops more completely disciplined, and conducted by generals of greater abilities, fought from necessity, with courage heightened by despair.

The Imperialists, however, were unable to resist the first efforts of the French valour, and their firmest battalions began to give way. But the fortune of the day was quickly changed. The Swiss in the service of France, unmindful of the reputation of their country for fidelity and martial glory, abandoned their post in a cowardly manner. Leyva, with his garrison, sallied out and attacked the rear of the French, during the heat of the action, with such fury as threw it into confusion; and Pescara, falling on their cavalry, with the Imperial horse, among whom he had prudently intermingled a considerable number of Spanish foot, armed with the heavy muskets then in use, broke this formidable body by an unusual method of attack, against which they were wholly unprovided. The rout became universal, and resistance ceased in almost every part but where the king was in person, who fought now, not for fame or victory, but for safety. Though wounded in several places, and thrown from his horse, which was killed under him, Francis defended himself on foot with an heroic courage; killing, with his own hand, Ferdinand de Castriot, marquis de Saint-Auge, and six other of his opponents. Many of his bravest officers gathering around him, and, endeavouring to save his life at the expense of their own, fell at his feet. Among these was Bonnivet, the author of this great calamity, who alone died unlamented. The king, exhausted with fatigue, and scarcely capable of further resistance, was left almost alone, exposed to the fury of Spanish soldiers, strangers to his rank, and enraged at his obstinacy. At that moment came up Pomperant, a French gentleman, who had entered, together with Bourbon, into the emperor's service, and placing himself by the side of the monarch against whom he had rebelled, assisted in protecting him from the violence of the soldiers, at the same time beseeching him to surrender to Bourbon, who was not far distant. Imminent as the danger was which now surrounded Francis, he rejected with indignation the thoughts of an action which would have afforded such matter of triumph to his traitorous subject, and called for Lannoy, who happened likewise to be near. The latter immediately ran up, and falling upon one knee, received the monarch's sword. "Receive, Monsieur de Lannoy," said the unfortunate

Francis, "the sword of a king who is entitled to respect, since, before surrendering it, he has made it do good service against his enemies, and who has become a prisoner, not from pusillanimity (*want of courage*), but a reverse of fortune." Lannoy kissed the hand of his royal prisoner, and taking his own sword, presented it to him, saying, that it did not become so great a monarch to remain disarmed in the presence of one of the emperor's subjects. Ten thousand men fell on this day, one of the most fatal France had ever seen. Among these were many noblemen of the highest distinction, who chose rather to perish than to turn their backs with dishonour. Francis announced his misfortune to his mother, the duchess d'Angoulême, in these justly celebrated words—"Madam, all is lost except honour."

Lannoy, though he treated Francis with all the outward marks of honour due to his rank and character, guarded him with the utmost attention. He was not only solicitous to prevent any possibility of his escaping, but was also afraid that his own troops might seize his person and detain it as the best security for the payment of their arrears (*pay due*). In order to provide against both these dangers, he conducted Francis, the day after the battle, to the strong castle of Pizzichitone, near Cremona, committing him to the custody of Don Ferdinand Alarcon, general of the Spanish infantry, an officer of great bravery and of strict honour, but remarkable for that severe and scrupulous (*exact*) vigilance which such a trust required.

READING IX.

SACK OF ROME BY THE IMPERIALISTS.

1527.

CHARLES OF BOURBON.—CHEVALIER BAYARD.

REplete as is the history of these times with stirring events, none is, perhaps, so likely to affect the mind with the mingled emotions of surprise, pity and indignation, as the one we are about to describe—the storming and

sacking of Rome, the seat of the papal power, by the bigoted subjects of a Catholic monarch. As the author and chief perpetrator (*actor*) of this atrocious (*wicked*) violence was a person, who, although one of the highest noblemen of France, had dishonoured himself by becoming a traitor to his prince, it will be interesting to precede our account of the aggression (*outrage*), by a short view of his character, and by an investigation (*inquiry*) of the causes which induced him not only to forfeit his allegiance (*duty to his sovereign*), but to consummate (*complete*) his guilt by sacrilege (*profanation of sacred things*).

Charles, duke of Bourbon, lord high constable of France, whose noble birth, vast fortune, and high office, raised him to be the most powerful subject in the kingdom, was illustrious by talents equally suited for the field as for the council, and by the important services he had rendered the crown. The near resemblance between the king and him in many of their qualities, both being fond of war, and ambitious to excel in manly exercises, as well as their equality in age, and their proximity (*nearness*) of blood, ought naturally to have secured him a considerable share in that monarch's favour. But unhappily, Louise, the king's mother, had contracted a violent aversion (*hatred*) to the house of Bourbon, and she had taught her son, who was too open to every impression which she gave him, to view all the constable's actions with a mean and unbecoming jealousy. His distinguished merit at the battle of Marignano had not been sufficiently rewarded; he had been recalled from the government of Milan, upon very frivolous (*trifling*) pretences, and had met with a cold reception, which his prudent conduct in that difficult station did not deserve; the payment of his pensions had been suspended (*withheld*), without any good cause; and during the campaign of 1521, he had received a personal affront from the king, who gave the command of the van (*the advance of the army*), to the duke of Alençon. The constable, at first, bore these indignities with greater moderation than could have been expected from a high-spirited prince, conscious (*aware*) of what was due to his rank and services. Such a multiplicity (*number*) of injuries, however, exhausted his patience, and inspiring him with thoughts of revenge,

he retired from court and began to hold a secret correspondence with some of the emperor's ministers.

About that time the duchess of Bourbon died, leaving no children. Louise, who was still susceptible of the tender passions at the age of forty-six, began to view the constable with other eyes, and formed the scheme of marrying him, but Bourbon stung (*hurt*) with his recent injuries, not only rejected the match, but embittered his refusal by some severe raillery (*satire*) upon Louise's person and character. Exasperated (*enraged*) by his contempt, the angry princess determined to ruin the late object of her love.

For this purpose, she gained over to her interests Du Prat, chancellor of France, and by his advice a law-suit was commenced against the constable, for the whole estate of the house of Bourbon. Part of it was claimed in the king's name, as having fallen to the crown; part in that of Louise, as the nearest heir in blood to the deceased duchess. The decision of the court was, as may be supposed, fatal to the constable, who, driven to despair, resolved upon measures which that passion alone could dictate. He entered into a secret correspondence with the emperor, and the king of England, and proposed, as soon as an opportunity presented itself, to raise an insurrection among the numerous vassals of the French monarch, and introduce foreign troops into the heart of France.

Although Francis had some information of this conspiracy, yet not having sufficient proof of Bourbon's guilt, he allowed him to quit the kingdom, and that traitor, entering into the emperor's service, devoted all his abilities and skill to injure his lawful sovereign and his native country.

The Imperialists having, in the year 1524, succeeded in marching a powerful army to oppose the French, who under Bonnivet, had entered the Milanese, the latter being destitute of troops, to make head against them, was forced to abandon the strong camp in which he had entrenched (*fortified*) himself at Biagrasa, and to attempt, soon after, a retreat into France, through the valley of Aost. Just as he arrived on the banks of the Sessia, and began to pass that river, Bourbon and Pescara appeared with the vanguard of the allies and attacked his

rear with great fury. At the beginning of the charge, Bonnivet, while exerting himself with much valour, was wounded so dangerously as obliged him to quit the field ; and the conduct of the rear was committed to the Chevalier Bayard, the knight *sans peur et sans reproche* (*without fear and without reproach*), who, though so much a stranger to the arts of a court that he never rose to the chief command, was always called, in times of real danger, to the posts of greatest peril and importance. He put himself at the head of the men at arms, and animating them by his presence and example to sustain the whole shock (*attack*) of the enemy's troops, he gained time for the rest of his countrymen to make good their retreat. But in this service he received a wound which he immediately perceived to be mortal, and being unable to continue any longer on horseback, he ordered one of his attendants to place him under a tree, with his face towards the enemy ; then, fixing his eyes on the guard of his sword, which he held up instead of a cross, he addressed his prayers to God, and in this posture, which became his character both as a soldier and as a Christian, he calmly awaited the approach of death. Bourbon, who led the foremost of the enemy's troops, found him in this situation, and expressed regret and pity at the sight. "Pity not me," cried the high spirited chevalier, "I die as a man of honour ought, in the discharge of my duty : the real objects of pity are those who fight against their king, their country, and their oath."

READING X.

SACK OF ROME BY THE IMPERIALISTS,

; 1527.

MEANWHILE Francis was rigorously confined, and hard conditions being proposed to him, as the price of his liberty, he drew his dagger, and pointing it at his breast, exclaimed, "A king had better die thus." Thinking, however, when his passion had subsided, that an interview with Charles might procure him better terms, he

desired to be conducted into Spain, where he had a conference with the emperor, who, fearing that some general league might be entered into against him, or that Francis might execute his threat of resigning the crown of France in favour of the Dauphin, consented to some diminution of the demands he had at first insisted upon. The treaty by which Francis obtained his liberty was signed at Madrid, on the 14th January, 1526. The principal articles were, that the same day Francis was set at liberty, his two sons, the Dauphin and the duke of Orleans should be delivered up as hostages (*securities*) into the emperor's hands; after which, Francis was to cede (*give up*) the dukedom of Burgundy to the emperor, restore the duke of Bourbon and all his friends, marry the emperor's sister, Leonora, and indemnify (*secure*) his imperial majesty against all demands on the part of the king of England. These articles being ratified (*confirmed*) in form, and both sides having taken an oath to observe them, the French king, on the 18th March, was exchanged, on the borders of France, for his two sons, with much ceremonious solemnity, and the wisest precautions on both sides. It is said, that being at liberty, he immediately mounted a swift horse, and putting him at full speed, entered France waving his hand, and exclaiming several times, "I am still a king." 19219

Perhaps one of the most unfortunate circumstances resulting to Francis from his captivity was the breach of faith which his anxiety to obtain his liberty induced him to commit. But for this, his character as a monarch would have commanded unmixed feelings of respect and admiration. The fact, however, is, that a few hours after signing the treaty, he assembled such of his counsellors as were then in Madrid, and having required from them a solemn oath of secrecy, he made a long enumeration of the dishonourable arts, as well as unprincely rigour (*severity*), which the emperor had employed in order to ensnare or intimidate him, and concluded by making a formal protest (*declaration*) in the hands of notaries, that his consent to the treaty should be considered as an involuntary (*against his will*) deed, and be deemed (*regarded*) null and void (*of no effect*). By this disingenuous (*insincere*) artifice, for which even the treatment that he had met with was no apology, Francis

endeavoured to satisfy his honour and conscience in signing the treaty, and to provide at the same time a pretext to break it. Accordingly, as soon as he arrived in France, he called together the states of Burgundy, who protested against the article relative to their province; and when the emperor's ambassadors insisted upon the immediate fulfilment of the treaty, Francis replied, that he would strictly perform the articles regarding himself, but as to those which related to the French monarchy, he must take the sense of the nation at large for his guide. Shortly after this declaration of his resolution not to execute the treaty, the then pope Clement VII. absolved him from the oath taken at Madrid; and the kings of France and England, the pope, the Swiss, the Venetians, the Florentines, and the Milanese, entered into a league against the emperor, which league, from the pope's being at the head of it, was dignified with the name of *holy*.

Francis flattered himself that the appearance of this great confederacy might engage the emperor to relax somewhat of the rigour of the treaty of Madrid; and while he entertained these hopes, he was the more remiss (*less assiduous*) in his warlike preparations; nor did he send in due time reinforcements to his allies in Italy. The duke of Bourbon had got possession of the whole Milanese, of which the emperor intended to grant him the investiture, (*possession*); and having levied (*raised*) a considerable army in Germany, he became formidable to all the Italian potentates (*princes*); and not the less so, because Charles, destitute, as usual, of money, had not been able to pay the forces. The general was extremely beloved by his troops; and in order to prevent those mutinies which were ready to break out every moment, and which their affection alone for him had hitherto restrained, he led them to Rome, and promised to enrich them by the plunder of that opulent city.

He executed his resolution with a rapidity equal to the boldness with which he had formed it. His soldiers, now that they had their prey in full view, complained neither of fatigue nor famine, nor want of pay. No sooner did they begin to move from Tuscany towards Rome, than the pope, sensible at last how fallacious (*deceitful*) the hopes had been on which he reposed, started from his security. But no time now remained, even for a bold

and decisive pontiff, to have taken proper measures, or to have formed any effectual plan of defence. Under Clement's feeble conduct, all was consternation, disorder, and irresolution. He collected, however, such of his disbanded soldiers as still remained in the city; he armed the artificers of Rome, and the footmen and train-bearers of the cardinals; he repaired the breaches in the walls; he began to erect new works; he excommunicated Bourbon and all his troops, branding (*disgracing*) the Germans with the name of Lutherans, and the Spaniards with that of Moors. Trusting to these ineffectual military preparations, or to his spiritual arms, which were still more despised by rapacious soldiers, he seems to have laid aside his natural timidity, and contrary to the advice of all his counsellors, determined to wait the approach of an enemy whom he might easily have avoided by a timely retreat.

READING XI.

SACK OF ROME BY THE IMPERIALISTS.—CONCLUDED.

BOURBON, who saw the necessity of dispatch, now that his intentions were known, advanced with the utmost speed and encamped in the plains of Rome, on the evening of the 5th May, 1527. Early the next morning, being determined to distinguish that day either by his death or the success of his enterprise, he appeared at the head of his troops, clad in complete armour, above which he wore a vest of white tissue, that he might be more conspicuous both to his friends and to his enemies; and as all depended on one bold impression, he led them instantly to scale (*mount*) the walls. Three distinct bodies, one of Germans, another of Spaniards, and the last of Italians, the three different nations of which the army was composed, were appointed to this service; a separate attack was assigned to each; and the whole army advanced to support them as occasion should require. A thick mist concealed their approach until they reached almost the brink of the ditch which surrounded the suburbs; having planted their ladders in a moment, each brigade rushed on to the assault with an impetuosity heightened by national emulation. They were received at first with forti-

tude equal to their own. The Swiss in the pope's guards, and the veteran soldiers who had been assembled, fought with a courage becoming men to whom the defence of the noblest city in the world was entrusted. Bourbon's troops, notwithstanding all their valour, gained no ground, and even began to give way ; when their leader, perceiving that on this critical moment the fate of the day depended, threw himself from his horse, pressed to the front, snatched a scaling ladder from a soldier, planted it against the wall, and began to mount it, encouraging his men with his voice and hand to follow him. But at that very instant a musket bullet from the ramparts pierced his groin with a wound which he immediately felt to be mortal ; but he retained so much presence of mind as to desire those who were near him to cover his body with a cloak, that his death might not dishearten his troops, and he soon after expired with a courage worthy of a better cause, and which would have entitled him to the highest praise, if he had thus fallen in defence of his country, not at the head of its enemies.

This fatal event could not be concealed from the army ; the soldiers soon missed their general, whom they were accustomed to see in every time of danger ; but instead of being disheartened by their loss, it animated them with new valour ; the name of *Bourbon* resounded along the line, accompanied with the cry of *blood and revenge*. The veterans who defended the walls were soon overpowered by numbers ; the untrained body of city recruits fled at the sight of danger, and the enemy, with irresistible violence, rushed into the town.

During the combat, Clement was employed at the altar of St. Peter's in offering up to heaven unavailing (*useless*) prayers for victory. When informed that his troops began to give way, he not only fled with precipitation, but with an infatuation still more amazing than any thing already mentioned, instead of making his escape by the opposite gate where there was no enemy to oppose it, he shut himself up, together with thirteen cardinals, the foreign ambassadors, and many persons of distinction, in the Castle of St. Angelo. In his way from the Vatican to that fortress he saw his troops flying before an enemy who pursued without giving quarter ; he heard the cries and lamentations of the Roman citizens, and beheld the

beginning of those calamities which his own credulity and ill conduct had brought upon his subjects.

It is impossible to describe, or even to imagine, the misery and horror of the scene which followed. Whatever a city taken by storm can dread from military rage, unrestrained by discipline ; whatever excesses the ferocity of the Germans, the avarice of the Spaniards, or the licentiousness of the Italians could commit, these the wretched inhabitants were obliged to suffer. Churches, palaces, and the houses of private persons were plundered without distinction. No age, or character, or sex, was exempt from injury. Cardinals, nobles, priests, matrons, virgins, were all the prey of the soldiers, and at the mercy of men deaf to the voice of humanity. Nor did these outrages cease, as is usual in towns which are carried by assault, when the first fury of the storm was over ; the Imperialists kept possession of Rome several months, and during all that time the insolence and brutality of the soldiers hardly abated. Their booty in ready money alone amounted to a million of ducats ; what they raised by ransoms and exactions far exceeded that sum. Rome, though taken several different times by the northern nations, who overran the empire in the fifth and sixth centuries, was never treated with so much cruelty by the barbarous and heathen Huns, Vandals, or Goths, as by the bigoted subjects of a Catholic monarch. Clement himself, who had taken refuge in the Castle of St. Angelo, was obliged to surrender at discretion ; and found that his sacred character could neither procure him liberty nor respect. He was doomed to close confinement, until he should pay an enormous ransom, imposed by the victorious army, and surrender to the emperor all the places of strength belonging to the apostolic see (*the papal power*).

When intelligence of this great event was conveyed to the emperor, that young prince, habituated to hypocrisy, expressed the most profound sorrow for the success of his arms ; he put himself and all his court in mourning ; he stopped the rejoicings for the birth of his son Philip ; and knowing that every artifice, however gross, is able when seconded by authority, to impose upon the people, he ordered prayers, during several months, to be put up in the churches for the pope's liberty, which, all men knew, a letter under his hand could in a moment have procured.

READING XII.

THE ANABAPTISTS.

1534.

AMONG the many beneficial and salutary effects of which the Reformation was the immediate cause, it was attended, as must be the case in all actions and events wherein men are concerned, with some consequences of an opposite nature. No stronger instance of this can be adduced (*brought forward*) than the extravagances of which the Anabaptists were guilty shortly after the Reformation, as well as the rapid progress which that sect made among the peasants.

The most remarkable of the religious tenets of this people related to the sacrament of baptism, which, as they contended, ought to be administered (*given*) only to persons grown up to years of understanding, and should be performed, not by sprinkling them with water, but by dipping them in it. They also maintained, that among Christians who had the precepts of the gospel to direct, and the spirit of God to guide them, the office of magistracy was not only unnecessary, but an unlawful encroachment upon their spiritual liberty; and they reprobated (*found fault with*) all distinctions by birth, rank, or wealth insisting upon a community of property. Considering also that the New Testament had placed no restraint upon the number of wives which they might marry, they claimed to themselves the right of that liberty which God himself had granted to the patriarchs.

Such opinions quickly produced the violent effects natural to them. Two Anabaptist prophets, John Matthias, a baker, of Haerlem, and John Boccold, or Beükels, a journeyman tailor, of Leyden, possessed with the rage of making proselytes (*converts*), fixed their residence at Munster, an imperial city of Westphalia. Having made a great number of disciples they suddenly took possession of the arsenal in the night time. The senators and citizens, whether papists or protestants, fled in confusion, leaving the town in the power of the fanatics. These, under the direction of Matthias, who in the style and with the authority of a prophet, uttered his commands, which

it was death to disobey, pillaged (*plundered*) the churches, defaced their ornaments and destroyed all books except the Bible, as useless or impious. The pseudo (*false*) prophet then ordered every man to bring forth his property, which he immediately deposited in a public treasury, naming persons to distribute it for the common use of all. He then sent messengers to the Anabaptists in the Low Countries, inviting them to assemble at Munster, which he dignified with the name of Mount Sion.

While thus employed, the Bishop of Munster, having assembled a considerable army, advanced to besiege the town. Matthias having sallied out and gained a trifling advantage, was so intoxicated with his success, that he appeared next day brandishing a spear, and declared, that, in imitation of Gideon, he would go forth the next day with a handful of men, and smite the ungodly. Thirty persons whom he named, followed him, and, as might be expected, were all cut off.

Matthias, however, quickly found a successor in Boccold, who, though less daring in action than the former, was a wilder enthusiast, and of more unbounded ambition. He remodelled the government, and, in imitation of the Jews, named twelve judges in the place of senators, retaining to himself the same authority which Moses anciently possessed as legislator (*lawgiver*) of that people.

But, not satisfied with power or titles which were not supreme, he caused it to be declared by one of his creatures, a pretended prophet, that it was the will of God that John Boccold should be king of Sion, and sit on the throne of David. Having been acknowledged as such by the infatuated multitude, he, from that moment, assumed all the state and pomp of royalty, wearing a crown of gold, being clad in the most sumptuous garments, and having a Bible carried on his one hand and a naked sword on the other.

The excesses to which this impudent impostor now abandoned himself are too revolting to be more than hinted at in this place. Suffice it, therefore, to say, that having asserted the lawfulness, nay the necessity, of having more wives than one, he himself set them an example by marrying at once three, a number which he afterwards gradually increased to fourteen.

The cup, however, of his iniquity was now full; the

German princes exasperated (*enraged*) at the insult offered to their dignity by Boccold's presumptuous usurpation of royal honours, raised a powerful army, which, under the command of an experienced officer, invested Munster. A deserter having informed the besieging general of a weak part of the fortifications, a chosen body succeeded in getting into the town and opening the gates. After a desperate struggle the Anabaptists were overpowered, their king being taken prisoner; he was loaded with chains, and carried from city to city, as a spectacle to gratify the curiosity of the people, and to be exposed to their insults. His spirit, however, was not broken or humbled by this sad reverse of his condition; and he adhered with unshaken firmness to the distinguishing tenets of his sect. After this he was brought back to Munster, the scene of his royalty and crimes, and put to death with the most exquisite as well as lingering tortures, all which he bore with astonishing fortitude. This extraordinary man, who had been able to acquire such amazing dominion over the minds of his followers, and to excite commotions (*disturbances*) so dangerous to society, was only twenty-six years of age.

READING XIII.

EXPEDITION OF CHARLES V. AGAINST ALGIERS.

1541.

WHILST the Reformation was making a rapid progress in Germany, and our own Henry was busily engaged in the suppression of the monasteries in England, the emperor Charles V. experienced one of the most signal defeats recorded in history, a defeat only to be paralleled by the disastrous Russian campaign of Napoleon. The causes which led to it are as follows:—

Algiers was at this time governed by Hascen-Aga, a renegade eunuch, who, by passing through every station in the Corsair's service, had acquired such experience in war, that he was well fitted for a station which required a man of tried and daring courage. Hascen, in order to

show how well he deserved that dignity, carried on his piratical depredations against the Christian states with amazing activity, and outdid, if possible, his predecessor Barbarossa himself in boldness and cruelty. The commerce of the Mediterranean was greatly interrupted by his cruisers, and such frequent alarms given to the coasts of Spain, that there was a necessity of erecting watch-towers at proper distances, and of keeping guards constantly on foot in order to descry the approach of his squadrons, and to protect the inhabitants from their descents. Of this the emperor's subjects had long complained, representing it as an enterprise corresponding to his power and becoming his humanity, to reduce Algiers, which, since the conquest of Tunis, was the common receptacle (*asylum*) of all the freebooters; and to exterminate (*destroy utterly*) that lawless nation, the implacable (*merciless*) enemies of the human race. Moved partly by their entreaties, and partly allured by the hope of adding to the glory which he had acquired by his last expedition into Africa, Charles issued orders both in Spain and Italy to prepare a fleet and army for that purpose; and so firm was he in his resolution, that, notwithstanding the advice of Andrew Doria, who entreated him not to expose his whole armament to the hazard of destruction by venturing at so late a season to approach the stormy coasts of Algiers, he embarked on board Doria's gallies, at Porto-Venere, in the Genoese territories. He soon found that this experienced sailor had not judged wrong concerning the element with which he was so well acquainted; for such a storm arose that it was with the utmost difficulty and danger he reached Sardinia, the place of general rendezvous (*meeting*). But as the emperor's courage was undaunted, and his temper often inflexible (*not to be bent*), neither the remonstrances of the pope and Doria, nor the danger to which he had already been exposed by disregarding them, had any other effect than to confirm him in his fatal resolution. His force consisted of twenty thousand foot, two thousand horse, Spaniards, Italians, and Germans, mostly veterans, together with three thousand volunteers, the flower of the Spanish and Italian nobility; to these were added a thousand soldiers, sent from Malta by the order of St. John, and headed by a hundred of its most gallant knig]

After a tedious and dangerous voyage from Majorca to the African coast, the emperor landed, without opposition, not far from Algiers, and immediately advanced towards the town. To oppose this mighty army, Hascen had only eight hundred Turks, and five thousand Moors, partly natives of Africa, and partly refugees from Grenada. He returned, however, a fierce and haughty answer when summoned to surrender. But with such a handful of soldiers neither his desperate courage, nor consummate skill in war, could have long resisted the forces now brought against him.

But howsoever far the emperor might think himself beyond the reach of any danger from the enemy, he was suddenly exposed to a more dreadful calamity, and one against which human prudence and human efforts availed nothing. On the second day after his landing, and before he had time for anything but to disperse some light-armed Arabs, who molested (*annoyed*) his troops on their march, the clouds began to gather, and the heavens to appear with a fierce and threatening aspect. Towards evening rain began to fall, accompanied with violent wind, and the rage of the tempest increasing during the night, the soldiers, who had brought nothing on shore but their arms, remained exposed to all its fury, without tents, shelter, or cover of any kind. The ground was soon so wet that they could not lie down on it; their camp being in a low situation was overflowed with water, and they sunk at every step to the ankles in mud; while the wind blew with such impetuosity, that, to prevent their falling, they were obliged to thrust their spears into the ground, and to support themselves by taking hold of them. Hascen was too vigilant an officer to allow an enemy in such distress to remain unmolested. About the dawn of morning he sallied out with soldiers, who, having been screened from the storm under their own roofs, were fresh and vigorous. A body of Italians who were stationed nearest the city, dispirited and benumbed with cold, fled at the approach of the Turks. The troops at the post behind them discovered greater courage, but as the rain had extinguished their matches and wetted their powder, their muskets were useless, and having scarcely strength to handle their other arms, they were soon thrown into confusion. Almost the

whole army, with the emperor himself in person, was obliged to advance before the enemy could be repulsed, who, after spreading such general consternation, and killing a considerable number of men, retired at last in good order.

READING XIV.

EXPEDITION OF CHARLES V. AGAINST ALGIERS.—
CONCLUDED.

BUT all feeling or remembrance of this loss and danger was quickly obliterated (*effaced*) by a more dreadful as well as affecting spectacle. It was now broad day, the hurricane had abated nothing of its violence, and the sea appeared agitated with all the rage of which that destructive element is capable; all the ships, on which alone the whole army knew that their safety and subsistence depended, were seen driven from their anchors, some dashing against each other, some beat to pieces on the rocks, many forced ashore, and not a few sinking in the waves. In less than an hour fifteen ships of war, and a hundred and forty transports with eight thousand men perished; and such of the unhappy crews as escaped the fury of the sea were murdered without mercy by the Arabs as soon as they reached land. The emperor stood in silent anguish and astonishment beholding this fatal event, which at once blasted (*destroyed*) all his hopes of success, and buried in the depths of the ocean the vast stores which he had provided, as well for annoying the enemy, as for subsisting his own troops. He had it not in his power to afford them any other assistance or relief than by sending some troops to drive away the Arabs, and thus delivering a few who were so fortunate as to get ashore, from the cruel fate which their companions had met with. At last the wind began to fall, and to give some hopes that sufficient ships might escape to save the army from perishing by famine, and transport them back to Europe. But these were only hopes; the approach of evening covered the sea with darkness;

and it being impossible for the officers aboard the ships which had outlived the storm to send any intelligence to their companions who were ashore, they remained during the night in all the anguish of suspense and uncertainty. Next day a boat dispatched by Doria made shift to reach land with information, that having weathered out the storm, to which, during fifty years' knowledge of the sea, he had never seen any equal in fierceness and horror, he had found it necessary to bear away with his shattered ships to cape Metafuz. He advised the emperor, as the face of the sky was still lowering and tempestuous, to march with all speed to that place, where the troops could re-embark with greater ease.

The comfort which this intelligence afforded Charles, by the assurance that part of his fleet had escaped, was counterbalanced by the new cares and perplexity in which it involved him with regard to his army. Metafuz was, at least, three days' march from his present camp ; all the provisions which he had brought ashore at his first landing were now consumed ; his soldiers worn out with fatigue, were hardly capable of such a journey, even in a friendly country, and being dispirited by a succession of hardships, which victory itself would scarcely have rendered tolerable, they were in no condition to undergo new toils. But the situation of the army was such as allowed not one moment for deliberation, nor left it in the least doubtful what to choose. They were ordered instantly to march, the wounded, the sick, and the feeble being placed in the centre ; such as seemed most vigorous were stationed in the front and rear. Then the sad effects of what they had suffered began to appear more manifestly than ever, and new calamities were added to all those which they had already endured. Some could hardly bear the weight of their arms ; others, spent with the toil of forcing their way through deep and almost impassable roads, sank down and died ; many perished by famine, as the whole army subsisted chiefly on roots and berries, or the flesh of horses, killed by the emperor's order and distributed among the several battalions ; many were drowned in brooks, which were swollen so much by the excessive rains, that in passing them they waded up to the chin ; not a few were killed by the enemy, who, during the greater part of their retreat, alarmed, harassed, and

annoyed them night and day. At last they arrived at Metafuz, and the weather being now so calm as to restore their communication with the fleet, they were supplied with plenty of provisions and cheered with the prospect of safety.

During this dreadful series of calamities, the emperor discovered great qualities, many of which, an uninterrupted flow of prosperity had hitherto afforded him no opportunity of displaying. He appeared conspicuous for firmness and constancy of spirit, for magnanimity, fortitude, humanity, and compassion. He endured as great hardships as the meanest soldier, he exposed his own person wherever danger threatened, he encouraged the desponding, visited the sick and wounded, and animated all by his word and example. When the army embarked, he was among the last who left the shore, although a body of Arabs hovered at no great distance, ready to fall on the rear. By these virtues, Charles atoned, in some degree, for his obstinacy and presumption, in undertaking an expedition so fatal to his subjects.

The calamities which attended this unfortunate enterprise did not end here ; for no sooner were the forces got on board, than a new storm arising, though less furious than the former, scattered the fleet and obliged them, separately, to make towards such ports in Spain and Italy as they could first reach ; thus spreading the account of their disasters, with all the circumstances of aggravation and horror which their fear or fancies suggested. The emperor himself, after escaping great dangers, and being forced into the port of Bogoa, in Africa, where he was obliged by contrary winds to remain several weeks, arrived at last in Spain, worn out with fatigue, anxiety, and disappointment.

READING XV.

CARDINAL BEATOUN.

1546.

THE doctrines of the Reformation, having once found their way into England, soon crossed the Tweed, and

were received with the utmost welcome by a shrewd and thinking people, while the pope, observing his authority in Scotland to be in danger from the spreading of the new opinions, had bestowed on Beatoun, the primate, the dignity of cardinal, in order to confer upon him greater influence. This prelate had long been regarded as prime minister to the reigning monarch James V., and as the head of that party which defended the ancient privileges and properties of the ecclesiastics. Upon the death of his master, apprehensive of the consequences both to his party and to himself, he endeavoured to keep possession of power ; and, for that purpose, he is accused of executing a deed which required a high degree of temerity. He is said to have forged a will for the king, appointing himself and three noblemen more, regents of the kingdom during the minority of the infant princess ; at least, for historians are not well agreed in the circumstances of the fact, he had read to James a paper of that import, to which that monarch, during the delirium which preceded his death, had given an imperfect assent and approbation. By virtue of this will, Beatoun had put himself in possession of the government ; and having united his interests with those of the queen dowager, he obtained the consent of the convention of states and excluded the pretensions of Hamilton earl of Arran, who, being next heir to the crown, seemed best entitled to possess that high office into which the cardinal had obtruded (*thrust*) himself.

The cardinal did not long retain his ill-gotten power. A convention met, December 28th, A.D. 1542, only eight days after the king's death. In this convention no regard was paid to the pretended will, as the manner in which it had been fabricated was not unknown. The cardinal, irritated at this, made a most violent declamation against appointing any single person, and particularly any of the name of Hamilton, regent. In this oration he gave the Hamiltons all the opprobrious (*insulting*) names that language furnished. The earl of Arran then stood up and said : " My lords, call me what names you please, but deny me not my right to the regency. Whatever faults any of my name may have committed, none of you can say I have done him any injury, neither am I minded to flatter any of my friends in their evil doing, but by

God's grace shall be as forward to correct their enormities as any within the realm can reasonably require me. Therefore yet again, my lords, in God's name, I crave that ye do me no wrong, nor defraud me of my just title, before you have experience of my government." The whole assembly, the cardinal and a few of the clergy, excepted, cried out that the earl of Arran's claim was most just and could not be disputed, and he was accordingly appointed guardian to the queen and governor of the kingdom, and invested with all the power, prerogatives (*peculiar privileges*), and possessions of the crown.

But the weak and injudicious conduct of the Earl soon brought disgrace upon himself, and restored the cardinal to his former power ; the great seal being taken from the Archbishop of Glasgow, and delivered in Parliament December 15, 1543, to the cardinal. The same day the Governor himself, who had abandoned his principles as well as his party, and was entirely under the direction of the cardinal, complained in Parliament of the great increase of heresy in all parts of the kingdom, when an act was made for its extirpation (*destruction*), commanding all bishops and their officials to apprehend and bring to trial all who were suspected of heresy, and promising them the support of the secular (*temporal*) arm in that pious work.

The hatred between the partisans of the ancient and those of the new religion, became every day more violent ; and the resolution which the cardinal primate had formed of employing the most rigorous punishments against the reformers, brought matters to a quick decision. There was one Wishart, a gentleman by birth, who employed himself with great zeal in preaching against the ancient superstitions, and began to give alarm to the clergy, who were justly terrified with the danger of some fatal revolution in religion. This man was celebrated for the purity of his morals, and for his extensive learning ; but these praises cannot be much depended upon, because we know, that among the Reformers, severity of manners supplied the place of many virtues ; and the age was in general so ignorant that most of the priests in Scotland imagined the New Testament to be a composition of Luther's, and asserted that the Old one alone was the

word of God. But, however the case may have stood with regard to those estimable qualities ascribed to Wishart, he was strongly possessed with the desire of innovation (*introduction of novelties*), and he enjoyed those talents which qualified him for becoming a popular preacher, and for seizing the attention and affections of the multitude. The magistrates of Dundee, where he exercised his mission, were alarmed with his progress; and being unable or unwilling to treat him with rigour, they contented themselves with denying him the liberty of preaching, and with dismissing him the bounds of their jurisdiction. Wishart, moved with indignation that they dared to reject him, together with the word of God, threatened them, in imitation of the ancient prophets, with some imminent (*impending*) calamity; and he withdrew to the west country, where he daily increased the number of his proselytes (*converts*). Meanwhile a plague broke out in Dundee; and all men exclaimed that the town had drawn down the vengeance of heaven by banishing the pious preacher, and that the pestilence would never cease till they had made him atonement for their offence against him. No sooner did Wishart hear of this change in their disposition than he returned to them, and made them a new tender (*offer*) of his doctrine; but lest he should spread the contagion by bringing multitudes together, he erected his pulpit on the top of a gate; the infected stood within, the others without. The preacher, as may naturally be supposed, failed not in such a situation to take advantage of the immediate terrors of the people, and to enforce his evangelical mission. After this he visited Montrose, Perth, and several other towns, and such was his success that his converts were almost innumerable, and among these were not a few of the nobility and principal gentlemen of the kingdom.

The cardinal and the clergy in general were greatly incensed against this bold and dangerous adversary, and a resolution was formed to put an end to his attacks upon the church, by taking away his life by some means or other. Two attempts were made to cut him off by assassination; but he defeated the first by his courage, and the second by his caution. At length, finding his efforts baffled, Beatoun engaged the earl of Bothwell to arrest

him and to deliver him into his hands ; and, this being done, he was conducted to St. Andrews, and, after a trial, was condemned to the flames as a heretic. But as Arran, the governor, irresolute in his temper, would not consent to his execution, the cardinal determined to inflict the penalty of death without the aid of the secular arm, and he himself beheld from his window the barbarous spectacle. Wishart suffered with unexampled patience ; but remarking the triumph of his insulting enemy, foretold, that he should in a very few days, and in the very same place, lie as low as now he was exalted aloft, in opposition to true piety and religion.

The prophecy was probably the immediate cause of the event which it foretold. The disciples of this martyr, enraged at the cruel execution, formed a conspiracy against the cardinal, and having associated to them Norman Lesly, who was disgusted on account of some private quarrel, they conducted their enterprise with great secrecy and success. Early in the morning they entered the cardinal's palace, which he had strongly fortified, and though they were not above sixteen persons, they thrust out a hundred tradesmen and fifty servants, whom they seized separately, before any suspicion arose of their intentions ; and having shut the gates they proceeded very deliberately to execute their purpose on the cardinal. That prelate had been alarmed with the noise which he heard in the castle, and had barricadoed the door of his chamber : but finding that they had brought fire, in order to force their way, and having obtained, as believed, a promise of life, he opened the door, and his assassins rushed in with their swords drawn. They found the cardinal seated in an elbow chair, and upon seeing them he cried out, " I am a priest, I am a priest, you will not kill me." James Melvil then sprang forward, and stopping his comrades, bade them reflect that this sacrifice was the work and judgment of God, and ought to be executed with becoming deliberation and gravity. Then turning the point of his sword towards Beatoun, he thus addressed him, " Repent thee, thou wicked cardinal, of all thy sins and iniquities, especially of the murder of Wishart, that instrument of God for the conversion of these lands ; it is his death which now cries vengeance upon thee : we are sent by God to inflict the deserved

punishment. For here, before the Almighty, I protest that it is neither hatred of thy person, nor love of thy riches, nor fear of thy power, which moves me to seek thy death; but only because thou hast been and still remainest, an obstinate enemy to Jesus Christ, and his holy gospel." Having spoken these words, without giving Beatoun time to finish that repentance to which he had exhorted him, he thrust him through the body, and the cardinal fell dead at his feet; his last words being, "Fy! fy! all is lost, all is lost." This murder was perpetrated on the 28th of May, 1546.

READING XVI.

ACCESSION OF EDWARD VI.—FIESCO'S CONSPIRACY.

1547.

UPON the death of Henry VIII. Edward, his son by Jane Seymour, ascended the throne; but being only nine years of age at the time of his father's death, the government was committed to sixteen executors, among whom were the archbishop of Canterbury, and all the great officers of state, the king's uncle the earl of Hereford, who was raised to the dukedom of Somerset, being chosen Protector.

One of the most memorable foreign events which occurred during his short reign was the celebrated attempt of Fiesco to subvert the government of the Dorias in Genoa.

The form of government which had been established in this city at the time when Andrew Doria restored liberty to his country, did not, after a trial of nearly twenty years, give universal satisfaction to those turbulent republicans. In addition to which Giannettino Doria, whom his grand uncle Andrew destined to be the heir of his private fortune, aimed likewise at being his successor in power, and as he manifested from the earliest years a tyrannical and overbearing disposition, he was already feared and hated as an enemy to the liberties of the republic.

This growing disgust having been observed by John

Lewis Fiesco, count of Lavagna, encouraged him to attempt one of the boldest actions recorded in history. This young nobleman, the richest and most illustrious subject in the republic, possessed in an eminent degree, all the qualities which win upon the human heart, command respect, or secure attachment ; but to these qualities he added an insatiable (*never to be satisfied*) and restless ambition, and a mind that disdained subordination (*obedience*). These various passions preying with violence upon his turbulent and aspiring mind, determined him to attempt overturning that domination (*power*) to which he could not submit.

Having communicated his scheme to a few chosen confidants, from whom he kept nothing secret, the chief of whom was Perrina, a man of desperate fortunes, it was resolved to assassinate the two Dorias as well as the principal persons of their party, to overturn the established system of government, and to place Fiesco on the ducal throne of Genoa. Time, however, and preparations were requisite to ripen such a design for execution ; and while he was employed in carrying on these, Fiesco made it his chief care to guard against every thing that might betray his secret or create suspicion. The disguise he assumed was of all others the most impenetrable. He seemed to be abandoned entirely to pleasure and dissipation ; but amidst all this hurry of amusements, he prosecuted his plan with the most cool attention, neither retarding (*delaying*) the design by a timid hesitation, nor precipitating (*hurrying on*) the execution by an excess of impatience.

Various consultations were held by the conspirators as to the best plan to be adopted for the execution of their purposes. After several schemes being proposed and rejected, it was at last determined to attempt by open force, what they found difficult to effect by stratagem, and the night between the second and third of January was appointed for the enterprise.

The morning of that day Fiesco employed in visiting his friends, passing some hours among them with a spirit as gay and unembarrassed as at other times. Towards evening he paid court to the two Dorias with his usual marks of respect, and surveying their countenance and behaviour with the attention natural in his situation, was

happy to observe the perfect security in which they remained, without the least foresight or dread of that storm which had been so long gathering, and which was now ready to burst over their heads. From their palace he hastened to his own, which stood by itself in the middle of a large court, surrounded by a high wall. The gates had been set open in the morning, and all persons, without distinction, were allowed to enter, but strong guards posted within the court suffered no one to return. Perrina, meanwhile, and a few persons trusted with the secret of the conspiracy, after conducting Fiesco's vassals, as well as the crews of his galleys, into the palace in small bodies, with as little noise as possible, dispersed themselves throughout the city, and in the name of their patron, invited to an entertainment the principal citizens whom they knew to be disgusted with the administration of the Dorias, and to have inclination as well as courage to attempt a change in the government. Of the vast number of persons who now filled the palace, a few only knew for what purpose they were assembled; the rest, astonished at finding, instead of the preparations for a feast, a court crowded with armed men and apartments filled with the instruments of war, gazed on each other with a mixture of curiosity, impatience, and terror. While their minds were in this state of suspense and agitation, Fiesco appeared; with a look full of alacrity (*cheerfulness*) and confidence, he addressed himself to the persons of chief distinction, telling them that they were not now called to partake of the pleasure of an entertainment, but to join in a deed of valour, which would lead them to liberty and immortal renown. He set before their eyes the exorbitant (*unreasonable*) as well as intolerable authority of the elder Doria, which the ambition of Giannettino was about to enlarge and render perpetual. "This unrighteous domination," continued he, "you have it now in your power to subvert (*overturn*), and to establish the freedom of your country on a firm basis. The tyrants must be cut off; I have taken the most effectual means for this purpose; my associates are numerous; I can depend on allies and protectors if necessary. Happily the tyrants are as secure as I have been provident, their insolent contempt of their countrymen has banished the suspicion and timidity which usually render

the guilty quick-sighted to discern, as well as sagacious to guard against the vengeance which they deserve. They will now feel the blow, before they suspect any hostile hand to be nigh ; let us then sally forth, that we may deliver our country by one generous effort, almost unaccompanied with danger and certain of success." These words, uttered with that irresistible fervour which animates the mind when roused by great objects, made the desired impression on the audience. With one voice they all applauded and promised to second the undertaking.

Fiesco, having thus fixed and encouraged his associates, before he gave them his last orders, hastened for a moment to the apartment of his wife, a lady of the noble house of Cibo, whom he loved with tender affection, and whose beauty and virtue rendered her worthy of his love. The noise of the armed men who crowded the court and palace, having long before reached her ears, she concluded some hazardous enterprise to be in hand, and she trembled for her husband. He found her in all the anguish of uncertainty and fear ; and as it was now impossible to keep his design concealed, he informed her of what he had undertaken : the prospect of a scene so full of horror as well as danger, completed her agony ; and foreboding immediately in her mind the fatal issue of it, she endeavoured by her tears, entreaties, and despair, to divert (*turn*) him from his purpose. Fiesco, after trying in vain to sooth and to inspire her with hope, broke from a situation into which an excess of tenderness had unwarily seduced him, though it could not shake his resolution. "Farewell," he cried, as he quitted the apartment, "you shall either never see me more, or you shall behold to-morrow every thing in Genoa subject to your power."

READING XVII.

FIESCO'S CONSPIRACY.—CONCLUDED.

1547.

As soon as he rejoined his companions, he allotted each his proper station ; some were appointed to assault and

siege the different gates of the city ; some to make themselves masters of the principal streets or places of strength : Fiesco reserved to himself the attack of the harbour, where Doria's galleys were laid up, as the post of chief importance, and of greatest danger. It was now midnight, and the citizens slept in the security of peace, when this band of conspirators, numerous, desperate, and well armed, rushed out to execute their plan. They surprised some of the gates without meeting with any resistance. They got possession of others after a sharp conflict with the soldiers on guard. Perrina, with the galley which had been fitted out against the Turks, blocked up the mouth of the Darsena or little harbour, where Doria's fleet lay, all possibility of escape being cut off by this precaution. When Fiesco attempted to enter the galleys from the shore, to which they were made fast, they were in no condition to make resistance, as they were not only unrigged and disarmed, but had no crew on board, except the slaves chained to the oar. Every quarter of the city was now filled with noise and tumult, all the streets resounding with the cry of *Fiesco and Liberty!* At that name, so popular and beloved, many of the lower rank took arms and joined the conspirators. The nobles and partizans (*adherents*) of the aristocracy, astonished or affrighted, shut the gates of their houses, and thought of nothing but securing them from pillage. At last, the noise excited by this scene of violence and confusion, reached the palace of Doria ; Giannettino started immediately from his bed, and imagining that it was occasioned by some mutiny among the sailors, rushed out with a few attendants and hurried towards the harbour. The gate of St. Thomas, through which he had to pass, was already in the possession of the conspirators, who, the moment he entered, fell upon him with the utmost fury, and murdered him on the spot. The same must have been the fate of the elder Doria, if Jerome de Fiesco had executed his brother's plan, and had proceeded immediately to attack him in his palace; but he, wishing, from sordid motives, to prevent its being plundered amidst the confusion, having forbid his followers to advance, Andrew got intelligence of his nephew's death, as well as of his own danger, and, mounting on horseback, saved himself by flight. Amidst this general consternation, a

few senators had the courage to assemble in the palace of the republic ; at first some of the most daring among them attempted to rally the scattered soldiers and to attack a body of the conspirators ; but being repulsed with loss, all agreed that nothing now remained but to treat with the party which seemed to be irresistible. Deputies were accordingly sent to learn of Fiesco what were the concessions or conditions with which he would be satisfied ; or rather to submit to whatever terms he should be pleased to prescribe (*dictate*).

But by this time, Fiesco, with whom they were empowered to negotiate, was no more. Just as he was about to leave the harbour, where every thing had succeeded to his wish, that he might join his victorious companions, he heard some extraordinary uproar on board the admiral's galley. Alarmed at the noise, and fearing that the slaves might break their chains and overpower his associates, he ran thither, but the plank which reached from the shore to the vessel happening to overturn, he fell into the sea whilst he was hurrying forward too quickly ; being loaded with heavy armour, he sunk to the bottom, and perished in the very moment when he must have taken full possession of every thing his ambitious heart could desire. Perrina was the first who discovered this fatal accident, and foreseeing all its consequences, concealed it with the utmost industry from every one but a few leaders of the conspiracy. Nor was it difficult amidst the darkness and confusion of the night, to have kept it secret until a treaty with the senators should have put the city in the power of the conspirators. All their hopes of this were disconcerted by the imprudence of Jerome Fiesco, who, when the deputies of the senate inquired for his brother, the count of Lavagna, that they might make their proposal to him, replied with a childish vanity, "I am now the only person to whom that title belongs, and with me you must treat." These words discovered, as well to his friends as to his enemies, what had happened, and made the impression which might have been expected on both. The deputies, encouraged by this event, the only one which could occasion such a sudden revolution as might turn to their advantage, assumed instantly, with admirable presence of mind, a new tone, suitable to the change in their circumstances,

and made high demands, while they tried to gain time by protracting (*lengthening*) the negotiation ; the rest of the senators were busy in assembling their partizans, and in forming a body capable of defending the palace of the republic. On the other hand; the conspirators, astonished at the death of a man whom they adored and trusted, and placing no confidence in Jerome, a giddy youth, felt their courage die away, and their arms fell from their hands. That profound and amazing secrecy, with which the conspiracy had been concerted (*planned*), and which had contributed hitherto so much to its success, proved now the chief cause of its miscarriage (*failure*). The leader was gone, the greater part of those who acted under him, knew not his confidants, and were strangers to the object at which he aimed. There was no person among them whose authority or abilities entitled him to assume Fiesco's place, or to finish his plan ; after having lost the spirit which animated it, life and activity deserted the whole body. Many of the conspirators withdrew to their houses, hoping that amidst the darkness of the night they had passed unobserved, and might remain unknown. Others sought for safety by a timely retreat, and before break of day most of them fled with precipitation from a city, which, but a few hours before, was ready to acknowledge them as masters.

Next morning, every thing was quiet in Genoa ; not an enemy was to be seen ; few marks of the violence of the former night appeared, the conspirators having conducted their enterprise with more noise than bloodshed, and gained all their advantages by surprise, rather than by force of arms. Towards evening, Andrew Doria returned to the city, being met by all the inhabitants, who received him with acclamations (*shouts*) of joy. Though the disgrace as well as danger of the preceding night was fresh in his mind, and the mangled body of his kinsman still before his eyes, such was his moderation and magnanimity, that the decree issued by the senate against the conspirators, did not exceed that just measure of severity, which was requisite for the support of government, and was dictated neither by the violence of resentment nor the rancour (*malignity*) of revenge.

READING XVIII.

FREDERICK, ELECTOR OF SAXONY, TAKEN PRISONER BY
CHARLES V.

1547.

THE emperor Charles V. no less than the pope had learned to make religion subservient to his ambition and policy ; he was resolved to employ the imputation of heresy as a pretence for subduing the Protestant princes, and oppressing the liberties of Germany ; and having by his political arts separated the Palatine (*German potentate*) and the elector of Brandenburg from the Protestant confederacy, he took up arms against the elector of Saxony and the Landgrave (*German prince*) of Hesse.

At the head of sixteen thousand veterans, the emperor advanced into Saxony. The elector's forces were more numerous, but they were divided. Charles did not allow them time to assemble ; he attacked the main body at Mulhausen, defeated it after an obstinate dispute, and took the elector prisoner. The captive prince was immediately conducted to the emperor, whom he found standing on the field of battle, in the full exultation of victory. The elector's behaviour, even in his present unfortunate and humbling condition, was decent and even magnanimous. It was worthy of his gallant resistance. He alike avoided a sullen pride and a mean submission : "The fortune of war," said he, "most gracious emperor, has made me your prisoner, and I hope to be treated"—here Charles rudely interrupted him :—"And am I then, at last, acknowledged to be emperor ? Charles of Ghent was the only title you lately allowed me. You shall be treated as you deserve !" turning from him with a haughty air. To this cruel repulse the king of the Romans (the other title of Charles,) added reproaches in his own name, using expressions still more harsh and insulting. The elector made no reply ; but, with an unaltered countenance, accompanied the Spanish soldiers, appointed to guard him.

The emperor speedily marched towards Wittenberg, (the capital, in that age, of the electoral branch of the Saxon family,) hoping that, while the consternation oc-

casioned by his victory was still recent, the inhabitants would submit as soon as he appeared before their walls. But Sibylla of Cleves, the elector's wife, a woman equally distinguished by her virtue and abilities, instead of obeying the imperial summons, or abandoning herself to tears and lamentations, on account of her husband's misfortunes, animated the citizens, by her example as well as exhortation, to a vigorous defence ; and Charles, finding that he could not suddenly reduce the place by force, had recourse to means both ungenerous and unwarlike, but more expeditious and certain. He summoned Sibylla a second time to open the gates, informing her, that, in case of refusal, the elector should answer with his head for her obstinacy. And to convince her that he was in earnest, he brought his prisoner to an immediate trial, subjecting one of the greatest princes in the empire to the jurisdiction of a court martial composed of Spanish and Italian officers ; who, founding their charge against him upon the imperial ban, a sentence pronounced by the sole authority of Charles, and destitute of every legal formality which could render it valid, presumed the elector convicted of treason and rebellion, and condemned him to suffer death by being beheaded.

Frederick was amusing himself at chess with his fellow-prisoner, Ernest of Brunswick, when this decree was intimated to him. He paused for a moment, though without any symptom of surprise or terror ; and, after taking notice of the irregularity as well as injustice of the proceedings against him, "It is easy," said he, "to comprehend the emperor's scheme ; I must die because Wittenberg refuses to surrender ; and I will lay down my life with pleasure, if by that I can preserve the dignity of my house, and transmit to my posterity the inheritance which I received from my ancestors. Heaven grant," continued he, "that this sentence may affect my wife and children no more than it does me ! that they may not, for the sake of adding a few years to a life already too long, renounce honours and territories which they were born to possess !" He then turned to his antagonist, challenged him to continue the game, and played with his usual attention and ingenuity.

It happened as the elector had feared, the account of his condemnation was not received with the same indiffer-

ence at Wittenberg ; Sibylla, who had supported with such undaunted fortitude her husband's misfortunes, while she imagined his person was free from danger, felt all her resolution fail the moment his life was threatened. Anxious for his safety, she despised every other consideration, and was willing to make any sacrifice in order to appease the rage of an incensed conqueror. Meantime, Charles, perceiving that the expedient he had tried began to produce the intended effect, fell by degrees from his former firmness, and allowed himself to soften into promises of clemency and forgiveness, if the elector would show himself worthy of favour by submitting to certain conditions. Frederick, on whom the consideration of what he himself might suffer had made no impression, was melted by the tears of a wife whom he loved. He could not resist the entreaties of his family ; in compliance with their repeated solicitations, he agreed to articles of accommodation which he would otherwise have rejected with disdain—to resign the electoral dignity, to put the imperial troops immediately in possession of his capital, and to remain the emperor's prisoner. In return for these important concessions, Charles promised not only to spare his life, but to settle upon him and his posterity the city of Gotha and its territory, with a revenue of fifty thousand florins.

READING XIX.

ACCESSION OF MARY.—SOLYMAN THE MAGNIFICENT.

1553.

EDWARD died of consumption in 1553, in the sixteenth year of his age ; and, from his zeal for religion, excluded by will his sister Mary from the succession, which he transferred to Lady Jane Grey, grand-daughter to a sister of Henry VIII. The tragical end of this amiable and accomplished lady is well known. Her death left Mary without a competitor (*rival*). Upon her accession she immediately lighted up the flames of religious persecution, to which she consigned (*delivered up*) the most illustrious

reformers. Her husband, Philip II. of Spain, was as remorseless a bigot as herself, and it is singular that the same horrible crime, the murder of his own son, of which he was accused, should have also been perpetrated a few years before by the commander of the faithful, Solymán the Magnificent. The account of this fatal deed cannot fail to excite a most powerful interest in the reader, and awaken all his sympathies.

Solymán, though distinguished by many accomplishments from the other Ottoman princes, had all the passions peculiar to that violent and haughty race. He was jealous of his authority, sudden as well as furious in his anger, and susceptible of all that rage of love which reigns in the East, and often produces the wildest and most tragical effects: his favourite mistress was a Circassian slave of exquisite beauty, who bore him a son called Mustapha, whom, both on account of his birth-right and merit, he destined to be the heir of his crown. Roxalana, a Russian captive, soon supplanted (*displaced*) the Circassian, and gained the sultan's heart. Having the address to retain the conquest which she had made, she kept possession of his love, without any rival, for many years; during which she brought him several sons and one daughter. All the happiness, however, which she derived from the unbounded sway that she had acquired over a monarch whom one half of the world revered or dreaded, was embittered by perpetual reflections on Mustapha's accession to the throne, and the certain death of her sons, who, she foresaw, would be immediately sacrificed by the barbarous jealousy of Turkish policy, to the safety of the new emperor. By dwelling continually on this melancholy idea, she came gradually to view Mustapha as the enemy of her children, and to hate him with more than a step-mother's ill will. This prompted her to wish his destruction, in order to secure for one of her own sons the throne, which was destined for him. Nor did she want either ambition to attempt such a high enterprise, or the arts requisite for carrying it into execution. Having prevailed on the sultan to give her only daughter in marriage to Rustan, the grand vizier, she disclosed her scheme to that crafty minister, who perceiving that it was to his own interest to co-operate with her, readily promised his assistance towards aggran-

dizing that branch of the royal line, to which he was so nearly allied.

As soon as Roxalana had concerted (*planned*) measures with this able confidant, she began to affect (*pretend*) a wonderful zeal for the Mahometan religion, to which Solyman was superstitiously attached, and proposed to found and endow a royal mosque (*a Mahometan church*), a work of great expense, but deemed by the Turks meritorious in the highest degree. The mufti (*Mahometan high priest*) whom she consulted, approved much of her pious intention; but, having been gained and instructed by Rustan, told her that she being a slave could derive no benefit herself from that holy deed, for all the merit of it would accrue to Solyman, the master whose property she was. Upon this she seemed to be overwhelmed with sorrow, and to sink into the deepest melancholy, as if she had been disgusted with life and all its enjoyments. Solyman, who was absent with the army, being informed of this dejection of mind, and the cause which had produced it, discovered all the solicitude of a lover to remove it, and, by a writing under his hand, declared her a free woman. Roxalana, having gained this point, proceeded to build the mosque, and resumed her usual gaiety of spirit; but when Solyman, on his return to Constantinople, wished to renew his former intercourse, she refused unless she was made his wife. The amorous monarch was not long before he solemnly married her, according to the form of the Mahometan ritual (*a book of religious rites*), though by so doing he disregarded a maxim of policy which the pride of the Ottoman blood has taught all the sultans since Bajazet I. to consider as inviolable. From this time none of the Turkish monarchs had married, because, when he was vanquished and taken prisoner by Tamerlane, his wife had been abused with barbarous insolence by the Tartars. That no similar calamity might subject the Ottoman family to the like disgrace, the above resolution was adopted.

But the more uncommon the step was, the more it convinced Roxalana of the unbounded influence which she had acquired over the sultan's heart; and emboldened her to prosecute, with greater hope of success, the scheme that she had formed in order to destroy Mustapha. This young prince, having been entrusted by his father, accord-

ing to the practice of the sultans in that age, with the government of several distant provinces, was at that time invested with the administration of Diarbequir, the ancient Mesopotamia, which Solyman had wrested from the Persians, and added to his empire. In all these different commands Mustapha had conducted himself with such cautious prudence as could give no offence to his father, though, at the same time, he governed with so much moderation as well as justice, and displayed such valour and generosity, as rendered him equally the favourite of the people and the darling of the soldiery.

There was no room to lay any folly or vice to his charge that could impair (*lessen*) the high opinion which his father entertained of him. Roxalana's malevolence was more refined ; she turned his virtues against him, and made use of these as engines for his destruction. She often mentioned in Solyman's presence, the splendid qualities of his son ; she celebrated his courage, his liberality, his popular arts, with malicious and exaggerated praise. As soon as she perceived that the sultan heard these often repeated encomiums (*praises*) with uneasiness ; that suspicion of his son began to mingle itself with his former esteem ; and that by degrees he came to view him with jealousy and fear ; she introduced, as by accident, some discourse concerning the rebellion of his father Selim, against Bajazet, his grandfather ; she took notice of the bravery of the veteran troops under Mustapha's command, and of the neighbourhood of Diarbequir to the territories of the Persian sophi (*emperor*), Solyman's mortal enemy. By these arts, whatever remained of paternal tenderness was entirely extinguished, and such passions were kindled in the breast of the sultan, as gave Roxalana's malignant suggestions the colour not only of probability but of truth. A deep-rooted hatred succeeded now to his suspicions and fear of Mustapha ; he appointed spies to observe and report all his words and actions ; he watched and stood on his guard against him as his most dangerous enemy.

READING XX.

SOLYMAN THE MAGNIFICENT.—CONCLUDED.

1553.

HAVING thus alienated (*estranged*) the sultan's heart from Mustapha, Roxalana ventured upon another step. She entreated Solyman to allow her own sons the liberty of appearing at court, hoping that by gaining access (*admittance*) to their father they might, by their good qualities and dutiful deportment, insinuate themselves into that place in his affections which Mustapha had formerly held; and, though what she demanded was contrary to the practice of the Ottoman family in that age, the uxorious (*over-fond*) monarch granted her request. To all these female intrigues Rustan added an artifice still more subtle, which completed the emperor's delusion, and heightened his jealousy and fear. He wrote to the bashaws (*governors*) of the provinces adjacent to Diar-bequir, instructing them to send him regular intelligence of Mustapha's proceedings in his government, and to each of them he gave a private hint, flowing in appearance from his zeal for their interest, that nothing would be more acceptable to the sultan than to receive favourable accounts of a son whom he destined to sustain the glory of the Ottoman name. The bashaws, ignorant of his fraudulent intention, and eager to pay court to their sovereign at such an easy price, filled their letters with studied but fatal panegyrics (*praises*) of Mustapha, representing him as a prince worthy to succeed such an illustrious father, and as endowed with talents which might enable him to emulate, perhaps to equal, his fame. These letters were industriously shown to Solyman, at the seasons when it was known that they would make the deepest impression. Every expression in recommendation of his son wounded him to the heart; he suspected his principal officers of being ready to favour the most desperate attempts of a prince whom they were so fond to praise; and fancying that he saw them already assaulting his throne with rebellious arms, he determined, while it was yet in his power, to anticipate the blow, and to secure his own safety by his son's death.

For this purpose, though under pretence of renewing

the war against Persia, he ordered Rustan to march towards Diarbequir, at the head of a numerous army, and to rid him of a son whose life he deemed inconsistent with his own safety. But that crafty minister did not choose to be loaded with the odium of having executed this cruel order. As soon as he arrived in Syria he wrote to Solyman that the danger was so imminent as called for his immediate presence ; that the camp was full of Mustapha's emissaries (*spies*) ; that many of the soldiers were corrupted ; that the affections of all leaned towards him ; that he had discovered a negotiation which had been carried on with the sophi of Persia, in order to marry Mustapha with one of his daughters ; that he already felt his own talents as well as authority to be inadequate (*unequal*) to the exigencies (*necessities*) of such an arduous conjuncture ; that the sultan alone had sagacity to discern what resolution should be taken in those circumstances, and power to carry that resolution into effect.

This charge of courting the friendship of the sopli, Roxalana and Rustan had reserved as the last and most envenomed of all their calumnies. It operated with the violence which they expected from Solyman's inveterate abhorrence of the Persians, and threw him into the wildest transports of rage. He set out instantly for Syria, and hastened thither with all the precipitation and impatience of fear and revenge. As soon as he joined his army near Aleppo, and had concerted measures with Rustan, he sent a chiaus, or messenger of the court, to his son, requiring him to repair immediately to his presence. Mustapha, though no stranger to his step-mother's machinations (*plots*), or to Rustan's malice, or to his father's violent temper, yet, relying on his own innocence, and hoping to discredit the accusations of his enemies by the promptitude of his obedience, followed the messenger without delay to Aleppo. The moment he arrived in the camp, he was introduced into the sultan's tent. As he entered it, he observed nothing that could give him any alarm ; no additional crowd of attendants, no body of armed guards, but the same order and silence which always reign in the sultan's apartments. In a few minutes, however, several mutes (*executioners*) appeared, at the sight of whom, Mustapha, knowing his fate, cried with a loud voice, "Ho ! my death," and attempted to fly. The mutes

rushed forward to seize him, he resisted and struggled, demanding with the utmost eagerness to see the sultan ; and despair, together with the hope of finding protection from the soldiers, if he could escape out of the tent, animated him with such extraordinary strength, that, for some time, he baffled all the efforts of the executioners. Solyman was within hearing of his son's cries, as well as of the noise which the struggle occasioned. Impatient of this delay of his revenge, and struck with terror at the thought of Mustapha's escaping, he drew aside the curtain which divided the tent, and thrusting in his head, darted a fierce look at the mutes, and with wild and threatening gestures, seemed to chide them for sloth and timidity. At sight of his father's furious and unrelenting countenance, Mustapha's strength failed, and his courage forsook him ; the mutes fastened the bowstring about his neck, and in a moment put an end to his life.

The dead body was exposed before the sultan's tent. The soldiers gathered round and contemplated the mournful object with astonishment, sorrow, and indignation ; nor was there one of them who tasted food, or even water, during the remainder of that day. Next morning the same silence and solitude reigned in the camp ; and Solyman, being afraid that some dreadful storm would follow this sudden calm, in order to appease the enraged soldiers, deprived Rustan of the seals, ordered him to leave the camp, and raised Achmet, a gallant officer much beloved in the army, to the dignity of vizier. But when all fears of a mutiny had subsided, Achmet was removed by the bowstring and Rustan again received into favour. This infamous minister, together with his former power, re-assumed the plan for exterminating the race of Mustapha, which he had concerted with Roxalana ; and as they were afraid that an only son whom Mustapha had left, might grow up to avenge his death, they succeeded, by employing the same arts, in inspiring Solyman with like fears, and in prevailing upon him to issue orders for putting to death that young and innocent prince. These orders were but too faithfully executed, and thus no rival was left to dispute the Ottoman throne with the sons of Roxalana.

READING XXI.

MARTYRDOM OF RIDLEY AND LATIMER.

1555.

MARY's authority having been considerably strengthened by the suppression of Wyat's rebellion, and by the arrival of her husband, Philip II. of Spain, in England, she proceeded to adopt every means to re-establish the ancient superstition. Cardinal Pole arrived in England shortly after, with legatine powers from the pope ; both houses of parliament immediately voted an address to Philip and Mary, acknowledging that the nation had been guilty of a most horrible defection (*falling off*) from the true church, declaring their resolution to repeal all laws enacted in prejudice of the Romish religion, and praying their majesties, happily uninfected with that criminal schism (*division*), to intercede with the holy father (*the pope*) for the absolution and forgiveness of their penitent subjects. The request was readily granted, and the parliament and kingdom were again received into the bosom of the church. The consequence of this reconciliation was, that the punishment by fire was rigorously employed against the most eminent reformers. Of all the martyrs who thus suffered, none have excited so much interest as Ridley and Latimer.

The horrible scene of their barbarous murder took place on the 16th day of October, 1555, at Oxford, the place of execution being upon the north side of the town, in the ditch over against Bailey College ; and for fear of any tumult that might arise to let (*hinder*) the burning of them, the Lord Williams was commanded by the queen's letters, and the householders of the city, to be his assistants, sufficiently appointed ; and when every thing was in readiness, the prisoners were brought forth by the mayor and the bailiffs. Master Ridley had a fair black gown, furred, and faced with some such as he was wont to wear, being bishop, and a tippet of velvet, furred likewise, about his neck ; a velvet nightcap upon his head, and a corner cap upon the same ; going in a pair of slippers to the stake, and walking between the mayor and aldermen.

After him came Master Latimer, in a poor Bristow frieze frock, all worn, with his buttoned cap and kerchief upon his head, all ready for the fire ; a new long shroud hanging over his hose down to his feet ; which at the first sight stirred men's hearts to see upon them, beholding, on the one side, the honour they sometime had, on the other, the calamity whereunto they were fallen.

Master Doctor Ridley, as he passed towards Bocardo, looked up where Master Cranmer did lie, hoping belike to have seen him at the glass window, and to have spoken unto him, but then Master Cranmer was busy with Friar Soto and his fellows, disputing together, so that he could not see him through that occasion (*on that account*) ; when Master Ridley, looking back, espied Master Latimer coming after, unto whom he said, "Ah ! be ye there ?" "Yea," said Master Latimer, "have after as fast as I can follow." So he following a pretty way off, at length they came both to the stake, the one after the other ; when first, Doctor Ridley entering the place, marvellously earnestly holding up his hand, looked towards heaven ; then, shortly after, espying Master Latimer, with a monstrous cheerful look, he ran to him, embraced and kissed him, and, as they that stood near reported, comforted him, saying, "Be of good heart, brother, for God will either assuage the fury of the flame or else strengthen us to abide it," with that went he to the stake by it, kissed it and effectuously prayed ; and behind him, Master Latimer as earnestly calling upon God as he. After they arose, the one talked with the other a little while, till they which were appointed to see execution, removed themselves out of the sun. What they said I can learn of no man.

Dr. Smith now began his sermon to them, upon this text of St. Paul, in the 13th chapter of the 1st Epistle to the Corinthians, "If I give my body to the fire to be burnt, and have not charity, I shall gain nothing thereby." He concluded his sermon, which was scant (*short*), in all a quarter of an hour, by a very short exhortation to them to recant, and to come home again to the church, and save their lives and souls, which else were condemned.

Doctor Ridley now said to Master Latimer, "Will you begin to answer the sermon, or shall I ?" Master Latimer said, "Begin you first, I pray you." "I will," said Doctor Ridley.

Thus having spoken, Dr. Ridley and Master Latimer kneeled down upon their knees towards my Lord Williams of Tame, the vice-chancellor of Oxford, and divers other commissioners appointed for that purpose, which sate upon a form thereby, unto whom Doctor Ridley said, "I beseech you, my lord, even for Christ's sake, that I may speak out two or three words," and, whilst my lord bent his head to the mates and vice-chancellor, to know, as it appeared, whether he might give him leave to speak, the bailiffs and Doctor Marshall, vice-chancellor, ran hastily unto him, and with their hands stopped his mouth, and said, "Master Ridley, if you will revoke your erroneous opinions, and recant the same, you shall not only have liberty so to do, but also the benefit of a subject, that is, have your life." "Not otherwise," said Master Ridley. "No," quoth Doctor Marshall, "therefore, if you will not so do, there is no remedy but you must suffer for your deserts." "Well," quoth Dr. Ridley, "so long as the breath is in my body, I will never deny my Lord Christ, and his known truth; God's will be done in me." And with this he rose up, and said with a loud voice, "Well, then I commit our cause to Almighty God, which (*who*) shall indifferently (*impartially*) judge all."

To whose saying, Master Latimer added his old posie (*motto*), "Well, there is nothing hid but it shall be opened," and he said he could answer Smith well enough if he might be suffered. Incontinently (*immediately*) they were commanded to make them ready, which they, with all meekness, obeyed. Master Ridley took his gown and tippet and gave to his brother-in-law, Master Shipside, who, all his time of imprisonment, although he might not be suffered to come to him, lay there at his own charge, to provide him necessaries, which, from time to time, he sent him by the serjeant that kept him. Some other of his apparel, that was little worth, he gave away, other the bailiffs took.

He gave away, besides, divers other small things to gentlemen standing by, and divers of them plentifully weeping. As to Sir Henry Lea, he gave him a new groat; and to divers of my Lord Williams's gentlemen, some napkins, some nutmegs, and races of ginger, his dial, and such other things as he had about him to every one that

stood next him. Some plucked the points off his hose ; happy was he that might get any rag of him.

Master Latimer gave nothing, but very quietly suffered his keeper to pull off his hose and his other array (*garments*), which to look unto was very simple ; and being stripped into his shroud, he seemed as comely a person to them that were there present, as one should usually see ; and whereas in his clothes he appeared a crooked and silly old man, he now stood bolt upright as comely a father as one might lightly (*easily*) behold.

Then Master Ridley, being in his shirt, stood upon the aforesaid stone, and held up his hands and said, " Oh ! heavenly Father, I give thee most hearty thanks for that thou hast called me to be a professor of thee, even unto death ; I beseech thee, Lord God, take mercy upon this realm of England, and deliver the same from all her enemies."

Then the smith took a chain of iron, and brought the same about both Dr: Ridley's and Master Latimer's middles ; and as he was knocking in a staple, Doctor Ridley took the chain in his hand and shook the same, for it did girder his belly, and looked aside to the smith and said, " Good fellow, knock it in hard, for the flesh will have his course." Then his brother did bring him gunpowder in a bag, and would have tied the same about his neck. Master Ridley asked what it was ; his brother said " gunpowder." " Then," said he, " I will take it to be sent of God, therefore, I will receive it as sent of him. And have you any," said he, " for my brother ?" meaning Master Latimer. " Yea, that I have," quoth his brother. " Then give it unto him," said he, " betime, lest ye come too late." So his brother went and carried of the same gunpowder unto Master Latimer.

Then they brought a faggot kindled with fire, and laid the same down at Doctor Ridley's feet, to whom Master Latimer spake in this manner : " Be of good comfort, Doctor Ridley, and play the man ; we shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as, I trust, shall never be put out."

And so the fire being given unto them, when Dr. Ridley saw the fire flaming up towards him, he cried with a wonderful loud voice, *In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum ; Domine, recipe spiritum meum !* And after repeating this latter part often in English, " Lord,

Lord, receive my spirit !" Master Latimer crying on the other side, " Oh ! Father of Heaven receive my soul !" who received the flame, as it were embracing of it. After that he had stroaked his face with his hands, and as it were bathed them a little in the fire, he soon died, as it appear-eth, with very little pain or none. And thus much concerning the end of this old and blessed servant of God, Master Latimer, for whose laborious travel, fruitful life, and constant death, the whole realm hath cause to give thanks to God.

But Master Ridley, by reason of the evil-making of the fire unto him ; because the wooden faggots were laid about the gosse (*furze*) and over (*too*) high built, the fire burned first beneath, being kept down by the wood, which, when he felt, he desired them, for Christ's sake, to let the fire come to him ; which, when his brother-in-law heard, but not well understood, intending to rid him out of his pain, for the which cause he gave attendance, as one in such sorrow not well advised what he did, heaped faggots upon him, so that he clean covered him ; which made the fire more vehement beneath, that it burned clean all his nether (*lower*) parts, before it once touched the upper ; this made him leap up and down under the faggots, and often desire them to let the fire come unto him, saying, " I cannot burn," which indeed appeared well, for after his legs were consumed, by reason of his struggling through the pain, he showed that side towards us clean, shirt and all, untouched with flame. Yet, in all this torment, he forgot not to call unto God, still having in his mouth, " Lord, have mercy upon me," intermingling his cry, " Let the fire come unto me, I cannot burn." In which pain he laboured, till one of the standers by, with his bill, pulled off the faggots above, and where he (Doctor Ridley) saw the fire flame up, he pressed himself into that side ; and when the flame touched the gunpowder he was seen to stir no more, but burned on the other side, falling down at Master Latimer's feet. Which some said happened by reason that the chain loosed, others said that he fell over the chain by reason of the poise (*balancing*) of his body, and the weakness of the limbs. Some said that before he was like to fall from the stake, he desired them to hold him to it with their bills. However it was, surely it moved hundreds to tears, in beholding the horrible

sight. Signs, there were, of sorrow on every side, and whoso considered their preferment in times past, the places of honour that they sometime (*formerly*) occupied in the commonwealth, the favour they were in with their princes, and the opinion (*character*) of learning they had, could not choose but sorrow with tears, to see so great dignity, honour, and estimation, so many godly virtues, the study of so many years, such excellent learning, to be put into the fire and consumed in one moment.

READING XXII.

DEATH OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES V.

1556.

THE year 1556 is rendered memorable by the death of the most powerful European monarch since the time of Charlemagne ; of a prince who having wielded the sceptres of Germany, Spain, and Italy, and added to these vast dominions the sovereignty of the New World, ended by becoming a living example of the vanity of all human greatness.

The voluntary abdication of Charles V. in favour of his son is well known. Of all the vast possessions which he resigned to Philip, he reserved nothing to himself but an annual pension of a hundred thousand crowns, to defray the charges of his family, and to afford him a small sum for acts of beneficence and charity. Upon entering his retreat, the monastery of St. Justus, near the town of Plazencia, in Estramadura, Charles formed such a plan for himself, as would have suited the condition of a private gentleman of a moderate fortune. His table was neat but plain ; his domestics few, his intercourse with them familiar ; all the cumbersome (*troublesome*) and ceremonious forms of attendance on his person were entirely abolished, as destructive of that social ease and tranquillity which he courted, in order to soothe the remainder of his days. As the mildness of the climate, together with his deliverance from the burdens and cares of government, procured him, at first, a considerable remis-

sion from the acute pains with which he had been long tormented, he enjoyed, perhaps, more complete satisfaction in this humble solitude than all his grandeur had ever yielded him. The ambitious thoughts and projects which had so long engrossed (*wholly occupied*) and disquieted him, were quite effaced from his mind ; far from taking any part in the political transactions of the princes of Europe, he restrained his curiosity even from any inquiry concerning them.

Other amusements and other objects now occupied him. Sometimes he cultivated the plants in his garden with his own hands ; sometimes he rode out to the neighbouring wood on a little horse, the only one he kept, attended by a single servant on foot. When his infirmities confined him to his apartment, which often happened, and deprived him of these more active recreations (*amusements*), he either admitted a few gentlemen who resided near the monastery to visit him, and entertained them familiarly at his table ; or he employed himself in studying mechanical principles, and in forming curious works of mechanism, of which he had always been remarkably fond, and to which his genius was peculiarly turned. With this view he had engaged Turriano, one of the most ingenious artists of that age, to accompany him in his retreat. He laboured together with him in framing models of the most useful machines, as well as in making experiments with regard to their respective powers, and it was not seldom that the ideas of the monarch assisted or perfected the intentions of the artist. He relieved his mind at intervals with slighter and more fantastic (*fanciful*) works of mechanism ; in fashioning puppets, which, by the structure of internal springs, mimicked the gestures of men, to the no small astonishment of the ignorant monks, who, beholding movements which they could not comprehend, sometimes distrusted their senses, and sometimes suspected Charles and Turriano of being in compact (*union*) with invisible powers (*demons*). He was particularly curious with regard to the construction of clocks and watches, and having found, after repeated trials, that he could not bring any two of them to go exactly alike, he reflected, it is said, with a mixture of surprise as well as regret on his own folly, in having bestowed so much time and labour on the more vain attempt of bring-

ing mankind to a precise uniformity of sentiment concerning the intricate and mysterious doctrines of religion.

But in what manner soever Charles disposed of the rest of his time, he constantly reserved a considerable portion of it for religious exercises. He regularly attended divine service in the chapel of the monastery every morning and evening ; he took great pleasure in reading books of devotion, particularly the works of St. Augustine and St. Bernard, and conversed much with his confessor and the prior of the monastery on pious subjects. Thus did Charles pass the first year of his retreat, in a manner not unbecoming a man perfectly disengaged from the affairs of the present life, and standing on the confines (*borders*) of a future world, either in innocent amusements, which soothed his pains, and relieved a mind worn out with excessive application to business ; or in devout occupations, which he deemed (*considered*) necessary in preparing for another state.

But about six months before his death, the gout, after a longer intermission than usual, returned with a proportional increase of violence. His shattered (*enfeebled*) constitution had not vigour enough remaining to withstand such a shock. It enfeebled his mind as much as his body, and from this period we hardly discern any traces of that sound and masculine understanding, which distinguished Charles among his contemporaries. An illiberal and timid superstition depressed his spirit. He had no relish for amusements of any kind ; he endeavoured to conform in his manner of living to all the rigour of monkish austerity ; he desired no other society than that of monks, and was almost continually employed with them in chanting the hymns of the missal (*the Roman Catholic prayer book*). As an expiation (*atonement*) for his sins, he gave himself the discipline (*scourge*) in secret with such severity, that the whip of cords which he employed as the instrument of his punishment, was found after his decease tinged with blood ; nor was he satisfied with these acts of mortification, which, however severe, were not unexampled. The timorous and distrustful solicitude which always accompanies superstition, still continued to disquiet him, and depreciating (*undervaluing*) all that he had done, prompted him to aim at something extraordinary, at some new and singular act of piety, that would

display his zeal, and merit the favour of heaven. The act on which he fixed was as wild and uncommon as any that superstition ever suggested to a weak and disordered fancy. He resolved to celebrate his own obsequies (*funeral rites*) before his death. He ordered his tomb to be erected in the chapel of the monastery. His domestics marched thither in funeral procession, with black tapers in their hands ; he himself followed in his shroud, and was laid in his coffin with much solemnity. The service for the dead was chanted, and Charles joined in the prayers which were offered up for the rest of his soul, mingling his tears with those which his attendants shed, as if they had been celebrating a real funeral. The ceremony closed with sprinkling holy water on the coffin in the usual form, and all the assistants retiring, the doors of the chapel were shut. Then Charles rose out of the coffin and withdrew to his apartment, full of those awful sentiments which such a singular solemnity was calculated to inspire. But either the fatiguing length of the ceremony, or the impression which this image of death left on his mind, affected him so much, that next day he was seized with a fever. His feeble frame could not long resist its violence, and he expired on the twenty-first of September, 1558, after a life of fifty-eight years, five months, and twenty-five days.

READING XXIII.

DEATH OF MARY.—ACCESSION OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

1558.

THE loss of Calais, which had been in the possession of British monarchs for above two hundred years, and which, as it opened for the English an easy and secure entry into the heart of France, was regarded as the most valuable territory belonging to the crown ; the hatred of her subjects ; and the contempt of her husband Philip, had such an effect upon the health of Mary, who had long been in a declining state, that she fell into a low fever, which put an end to her short and inglorious reign, on

November 17, 1558. The persecutions to which Elizabeth was subjected during the reign of her bigoted half-sister, are well known, and it is more than probable that she entirely owed her personal safety to the interested policy of Mary's husband, Philip II. This detestable and cruel tyrant, foreseeing the premature death of his consort (*royal wife*), was anxious, by taking as her substitute her young and highly-gifted sister, to secure for himself an agreeable companion, and at the same time to prevent Mary, Queen of Scots, from being seated on the British throne, whose accession threatened him with nothing less than the powerful hostility of the French and English monarchies united.

Notwithstanding some supposed defects in her title, Elizabeth succeeded to the throne of England, to the general joy of the nation. Endowed with a masculine mind, and talents of the highest order, Elizabeth had profited by the lessons of adversity, and by the leisure afforded by solitude. The ancient and modern languages were familiar to her; she spoke and wrote with facility the Greek, Latin, Italian, and French tongues. Her studies indicated a serious and powerful intellect. At the same time that she translated Sophocles, she commented (*wrote notes upon*) Plato. Happy had it been for her had she applied as much care to the improvement of her moral as of her intellectual qualities.

Both Henry IV. of France and Philip II. of Spain beheld Elizabeth's elevation with equal solicitude (*anxiety*); and, equally sensible of the importance of gaining her favour, both courted it with emulative (*rival*) zeal. Henry endeavoured, by the warmest expressions of regard and friendship, to detach her from the Spanish alliance, and to engage her to consent to a separate peace with him; while Philip, unwilling to lose his connexion with England, not only vied (*contended*) with Henry in declarations of esteem for Elizabeth, and in professions of his resolution to cultivate the strictest amity (*friendship*) with her; but, in order to confirm and perpetuate (*render lasting*) their union, he offered himself to her in marriage, and under took to procure a dispensation (*permission*) from the pope for that purpose.

Elizabeth weighed the proposals of the two monarchs with that provident (*prudent*) discernment of her true

interest which was conspicuous (*manifest*) in all her deliberations ; and while she intended to yield to the solicitations of neither, she continued, for a time, to amuse both.

The friendly dispositions of Philip continued until the death of young Francis of France, husband of Mary queen of Scots, which event freeing him from all apprehension as to Mary's succession to the British crown, together with that of France, his rancour began openly to appear, and the interests of Spain and England were found opposite in every negotiation and public transaction.

In 1562, Philip, jealous of the progress of the Huguenots, or Protestants, in France, and afraid that the contagion might spread into the Low Countries, had formed a secret alliance with the prince of Lorraine, for the protection of the ancient faith, and the suppression (*destruction*) of heresy. In consequence of that alliance, he now sent six thousand men to reinforce the Catholic party ; and the prince of Condé, who headed the Protestants, finding himself unable to oppose so strong a confederacy countenanced by royal authority, was obliged to crave (*beg*) the assistance of the queen of England. As an inducement (*temptation*) he offered to put her in possession of Havre de Grâce, on condition that, together with three thousand men for the garrison of the place, she should send over an equal number to defend Dieppe and Rouen, and furnish him with a supply of one hundred thousand crowns.

Elizabeth, besides the general and essential interest of supporting the Protestants, had other motives for accepting this proposal. She was now sensible that France never would voluntarily fulfil the article in a preceding treaty, by which Calais was to be restored to the English, and wisely concluded, that, could she get possession of Havre de Grâce, which commands the mouth of the Seine, she might easily force the French to execute their engagements, and have the honour of restoring Calais to England. She therefore accepted the proposal, and despatched the troops.

Busily occupied, however, as Philip II. thus was, both with France, England, and the Low Countries, he had shortly afterwards matters of equal moment to engage his

attention in the south-east of Europe, namely, the alarming progress made by the Ottoman (*Turkish*) arms, a progress which showed the imperative (*absolute*) necessity of a great effort being made for the defence of Christendom.

READING XXIV.

THE BATTLE OF LEPANTO.

1571.

SELIM II., who had succeeded his father Solyman, after attempting, but without success, to subdue the kingdom of Persia, turned his arms against the island of Cyprus, which, at that time, belonged to the republic of Venice. Nicosia, the capital, was taken by storm in 1570, and in the next year, Famagosta, the only city in the island which held out, was reduced, Bragadino, the governor, being flayed (*skinned*) alive, and the companions of his heroism butchered, or chained to the oar.

The Venetians, in this exigence (*need*), applied for assistance to all the princes of Christendom, whom the common interest ought to have united in their cause. It was a cause, indeed, which should have originated another crusade ; but by having exhausted themselves in so many needless ones before, they would not now engage in one that was really necessary. Pope Pius IV. did what was much better than preaching a crusade ; he had the courage to declare war against the Ottoman empire, by entering into a league with the Venetians and Philip II. of Spain. And now, for the first time, St. Peter's standard was displayed against the crescent, and the galleys of Rome encountered the Ottoman fleet. This single action of the pope, which was the last of his life, is alone sufficient to render his memory sacred.

Pius V. served as a model to the famous pope Sextus V., who copied the example of this pontiff, and, in the space of a few years, amassed, by prudent saving, a sufficient treasure to make the holy see considered as a respectable power. By these savings he was enabled to send a large fleet of galleys to sea. His zeal made him indefatigable

(*unwearied*) in soliciting all the princes of Christendom for their assistance, but he met only with delays, or excuses of inability.

Equally vain was his application to Charles IX. of France, to the emperor Maximilian, to Sebastian, king of Portugal, and to Sigismund II. of Poland. Charles was in alliance with the Turks, and besides had no ships to send. The emperor Maximilian stood in fear of the Ottoman power, and wanted money; he had made a truce with the Turks, and did not dare to break it. Don Sebastian of Portugal was as yet too young to exercise that valour which afterwards proved his ruin on the coast of Barbary. Poland was drained by her wars with the Russians, and her king (Sigismund) was enfeebled with age. There was then only Philip II. who took part with the pope in his design. He alone, of all the Catholic princes, was sufficiently rich to bear the prodigious expense of the necessary armament; and was alone able, by the good regulations of his government, to carry this project into a speedy execution. He was principally interested in this, through the necessity there was of securing his Italian dominions, and the places he possessed on the coast of Barbary, from the insults of the Ottoman fleet; accordingly he entered into alliance with the Venetians, though always their secret enemy in Italy, against the Turks, whom he feared still more.

Never was so large an armament fitted out with so much expedition. Two hundred galleys, six large galleasses, twenty-five ships of war, with fifty sail of transports, were all ready in the ports of Sicily by the month of September, which was less than five months after the taking of Cyprus. The one half of this armament was furnished by Philip. The Venetians were at the charge of two-thirds of the other half, and the rest were supplied by the pope. The command of the fleet was given to the famous Don John of Austria, natural son of the emperor Charles V., and Marc Antonio Colonna commanded under him, in the pope's name. The house of Colonna, so long the inveterate foe of the popes, was now become the chief prop of their power. Sebastian Veniero was admiral of the Venetian fleet. There had been three doges of his family; none of whom equalled him in reputation. Barbarigo, whose family was in no less esteem in Venice, was

intendant (*commissary general*) of the fleet. The Maltese sent three galleys, which were the most they could furnish. The Genoese hardly deserve to be mentioned; they feared Selim less than they did Philip II., and sent but one galley.

Historians tell us that there were no less than fifty thousand fighting men on board this fleet; but unfortunately, in accounts of battles, exaggeration is but too frequent. A fleet of two hundred and six galleys, and twenty-five other ships, could not contain at most more than twenty thousand fighting men. The Turkish fleet alone was stronger than the three Christian squadrons all together, being composed of about two hundred and fifty galleys. The two fleets met on the 5th October, 1571, in the gulph of Lepanto, the ancient Naupactus, not far from Corinth. Never, since the famous battle of Actium, had so numerous a fleet been seen in the Grecian seas, nor so memorable an engagement. The Turkish galleys were worked by Christian slaves, and the Christian ships by Turks, who were compelled to serve unwillingly against their country.

The two fleets engaged with all the ancient and modern weapons of offence; such as arrows, long javelins, grenades, grappling-irons, cannon, muskets, spears, and sabres. Most of the galleys were grappled together, and the soldiers fought hand to hand on their decks, as on a field of battle. At length victory declared for the Christians, a victory the more glorious as being the first of its kind.

Don John of Austria, and the Venetian admiral Veniero, attacked the ship which carried the Turkish admiral Ali, who being taken with his galley, had his head struck off, and hoisted upon his own flag-staff. This was abusing the rights of war, but might be justified as a retaliation for the atrocities exercised by the infidels. The Turks lost above one hundred and fifty ships in this engagement. It is difficult to tell the number of slain; some make them amount to fifteen thousand; about five thousand Christian captives were set at liberty. Venice celebrated this victory with such feasts as she alone was capable of giving in that age. Constantinople was in the utmost consternation; and the pope, when he received the news of this signal victory, the honour of which was

ascribed to the generalissimo Don John, but in which the Venetians had the greatest share, cried out, in a transport of joy, "There was a man sent from God, and his name was John;" words which were afterwards applied to John Sobieski, king of Poland, when he delivered Vienna. It was in this battle that the famous Cervantes lost his right hand. Glorious as this victory was, its fruits were by no means such as might have been expected, for the Venetians gained no ground upon the Turks, and Selim II. retook, in 1754, the kingdom of Tunis, without resistance, when all the Christians, who were found there, were massacred.

READING XXV.

MASSACRE OF THE PROTESTANTS IN FRANCE, ON THE
EVE OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S DAY.

1572.

THE civil war between the Catholics and Protestants, which had so long desolated France, was at length terminated by the treaty of Saint Germain-en-laie, in 1570. This unhopèd-for peace was a triumph for the latter; but in the views of Catherine de Medicis, mother of Charles IX. it was far otherwise, she only intended it as a fatal snare, by which she might the more easily destroy by perfidy, those whom she could not overcome by arms. Charles IX., well versed in the arts of dissimulation, and inclined to cruelty, although only twenty years of age, seconded his mother with the utmost satisfaction and readiness, disguising the most atrocious wickedness, under the fairest appearances. In order to allure to court the chiefs of the Protestant party, the king offered his sister Marguerite in marriage to the young prince of Bearne (afterwards Henry IV.) The queen of Navarre, delighted at this token of a perfect reconciliation, came in person to conclude the match, and was received with the greatest marks of respect and kindness. Charles IX. had taken a solemn oath that he would draw into the snare all

the chiefs of the reformed religion; and although he found some difficulty in entrapping the illustrious admiral Coligni, he at length succeeded, by holding out to him as a lure, the command of an army, which it was proposed should march into Flanders.

In the mean time a premature death carried off the queen of Navarre, nor is there any doubt that she was poisoned. Her son, the prince of Bearne, then in his nineteenth year, and his cousin the young prince of Condé, at length arrived at court, and on the 17th of August, 1572, the marriage of the king of Navarre with Marguerite de Valois was solemnized. The following days were passed in the midst of feasting and rejoicings, all animosity appeared extinguished, but the flame was only smouldering (*smothering*). It was resolved to massacre in one night, if possible, all the chiefs of the Protestant party. Admiral Coligni, after being present at a game of tennis, in which the king took a part, was wounded by an arquebuss (*a heavy musket*) shot, as he was going home on foot, on the 22d of August, about eleven o'clock in the morning. Charles here showed his profound dissimulation; he went to visit Coligni, expressed the utmost anxiety for the circumstance, and promised him signal vengeance. The court thus found means to calm the apprehensions of the Protestants, and to keep everything quiet until the eve of St. Bartholomew, the day fixed by Catherine and the secret council of Charles for the massacre. The Duke de Guise was entrusted with the execution; and this horrible butchery, which for diabolical wickedness has no parallel in history, began on the night of the 23-24 of August. All the Protestants, without distinction either of age or sex, had been condemned to destruction, and Coligni was marked out for the first victim. Guise, at the head of his satellites (*followers*), hurried before day-break to the admiral's residence, and having, himself, caused the doors to be broken open, ordered the immediate destruction of his enemy. His commands were soon obeyed, and the yet bleeding body of the unfortunate Coligni was thrown at his feet. This sight redoubling his fury, he abandoned the corpse to the insults of the infuriated mob, and proceeded to massacre, without the least mercy, all the Calvinists who had accompanied the admiral. "Courage,

soldiers!" said he, "it is God, it is Medicis, it is the king, who commands you!" At the same instant the palace bell was heard to toll. It was the signal for despatch. Numbers of noblemen and gentlemen were murdered even within the Louvre itself. The Catholics deluged Paris with blood; many, to avenge their private quarrels, stabbed the professors of their own religion, whom their hatred transformed into Huguenots. The monarch himself, forgetting his dignity and his duties, placed himself at one of the windows which looked out upon the Seine, and with a long arquebuss fired upon the unfortunates who were swimming across that river in order to escape the assassin's steel. His guards, imitating his example, killed and pillaged all whom they met, while the magistrates of the city, whose duty it was to have maintained good order and defended the lives of their fellow-citizens, were the first to commit the most criminal excesses. The massacre lasted seven days; the order which had been issued throughout the kingdom to exterminate the Calvinists, was executed in several places with the like fury; so that more than sixty thousand persons were thus immolated (*sacrificed*) under the pretext of religion.

The names of a few governors who courageously refused to lend themselves to so disgraceful and barbarous a deed, are gratefully remembered even in the present day. The Viscount D'Orthe wrote in answer to the mandate he received, that the garrison of Bayonne was composed of many good citizens and brave soldiers, ready to devote themselves to the king's service, but that amongst them he had never found an executioner. The bishop of Lisieux behaved himself on this occasion in a manner truly worthy of the sanctity of his character. The commandant having communicated to him the orders of the court—"You shall not execute them," said he to him, with noble resolution, "those whom you intend to murder are of my flock; they are, it is true, stray sheep, but I am endeavouring to lead them back again into the fold. The Gospel nowhere says that the shepherd should shed their blood; on the contrary, I find in it the injunction, that he should lay down his life for theirs."

READING XXVI.

MASSACRE OF THE PROTESTANTS IN FRANCE.—

CONCLUDED.

THIS horrible day, which will ever remain an indelible (*not to be blotted out*) spot in the history of France, and which cannot be thought of without causing feelings of the deepest indignation, was followed by the greatest demonstrations of joy. The king was not ashamed to take the entire odium (*blame*) of it upon himself. This monster declared, in open parliament, that the massacre had been executed by his order, for the purpose of anticipating a conspiracy formed against his person. The interpreters of the laws (*the judges*) saw only an act of prudence in this atrocious deed, and, in order to perpetuate the memory of it, caused a medal to be struck with this pompous inscription; "*Pietas armavit Justitiam* : Piety has armed Justice." An annual procession was also ordered, by way of returning thanks to God for the deliverance of the kingdom. At Rome, and in the countries of the Inquisition, this event was the subject of fulsome (*disgusting*) panegyrics (*praises*), and was even celebrated by processions, thanksgivings, and public rejoicings. Among the Protestants it excited such horror, that Fenelon, the French ambassador at the court of England, blushed to bear the name of Frenchman. At the first audience he had after the news had arrived of this barbarous massacre, "sorrow and indignation," he says, "were painted on every face; a profound silence, such as is found in the darkest night, reigned throughout all the apartments of the palace; the ladies and noblemen of the court, clad in deep mourning, were ranged in two rows, and when I passed between them, none deigned to cast the least look upon me, nor to return my salutation." Elizabeth heard him with great coolness, and replied without asperity. She contented herself with observing, that, even supposing there to have been a conspiracy of the Calvinists, it was not by slaughtering thousands of peaceful citizens that it should have been prevented; that the persons of the chief conspirators might have been seized, and they brought before the

tribunal of justice ; that assassins were not the proper executors of the law ; that she should confine herself to pitying the king for the rigour with which he had behaved towards his subjects.

Sully, the illustrious minister of Henry IV., gives the following interesting account of his own escape on that terrific day.

“ If I was inclined,” says he, “ to increase the general horror inspired by an action so barbarous as that perpetrated (*committed*) on the 24th August, 1572, I should in this place enlarge upon the number, the quality, the virtues, and great talents, of those who were inhumanly murdered on this horrible day, as well in Paris as in every part of the kingdom. I would mention at least the ignominious (*disgraceful*) treatment, the fiendlike cruelty, and savage insults, these miserable victims suffered from their butchers, and which in death were a thousand times more terrible than death itself. I have documents still in my possession, which would confirm the report of the court of France having made the most pressing instances (*requests*) to the neighbouring courts, to follow its example with regard to the Protestants, or at least to refuse an asylum (*refuge*) to those unfortunate people : but I prefer the honour of the nation to the satisfying a malignant pleasure, which many persons would take in lengthening out a recital, wherein might be found the names of those who were so lost to humanity as to dip their hands in the blood of their fellow-citizens, and even of their own relations. I would, were it in my power, for ever obliterate (*blot out*) the memory of a day that Divine vengeance made France groan for, by a continued succession of miseries, blood, and terror, during six and twenty years ; for it is not possible to judge otherwise, if all that passed from that fatal moment till the peace of 1598 be calmly considered. It is with regret that I cannot pass over what happened upon this occasion to the prince—the subject of these memoirs—and to myself.

“ I was in bed, and awaked from sleep three hours after midnight, by the sound of all the bells, and the confused cries of the populace. My tutor, St. Julian, with my valet de chambre, went hastily out to ascertain the cause ; and I never afterwards heard more of these men, who, without doubt, were amongst the first that were sacrificed

to the popular fury. I continued alone in my chamber, dressing myself, when, in a few moments, I saw my landlord enter, pale, and in the utmost consternation ; he was of the reformed religion, and having learned what the matter was, had agreed to go to mass, to save his life, and preserve his house from being pillaged. He came to persuade me to do the same, and to take me with him. I did not think proper to follow him ; but resolved to try if I could gain the college of Burgundy, where I had studied, though the great distance between the house where I then was, and the college, made the attempt very dangerous. Having disguised myself in a scholar's gown, I put a large prayer-book under my arm and went into the street. I was seized with inexpressible horror, at the sight of the ferocious murderers, who, running from all parts forced open the houses, with the cries of 'Kill, kill, massacre the Huguenots!' The blood which I saw shed before my eyes redoubled my terror. I fell into the midst of a body of guards; they stopped me, interrogated me, and were beginning to use me ill, when, happily for me, the book that I carried was perceived and served me for a passport. Twice after this I fell into the same danger, from which I extricated (*delivered*) myself with the same good fortune. At last I arrived at the college of Burgundy, where a danger, still greater than any I had yet met with, awaited me. The porter having twice refused me entrance, I continued standing in the midst of the street, at the mercy of the furious murderers, whose numbers increased every moment, and who were greedily seeking for their prey, when it came into my mind to ask for La Fay, the principal of the college, a good man, by whom I was tenderly beloved. The porter, prevailed upon by some small pieces of money which I put into his hand, admitted me ; and my friend carried me to his apartment, where two inhuman priests wanted to force me from him, that they might cut me in pieces, saying the order was, not to spare even infants at the breast. All the good man could do was to conduct me privately to a distant chamber, where he locked me up. Here I was confined three days, uncertain of my destiny, and saw no one but a servant of my friend's, who came from time to time to bring me provisions.

" At the end of these three days, the prohibition for

murdering and pillaging any more of the Protestants being published, I was suffered to leave my hiding place ; and immediately after I saw Ferrière and La Vieille, two soldiers in my father's service, enter the college. They were armed, and came no doubt to rescue me by force wherever they should find me. They gave my father a relation of what had happened to me ; and eight days afterwards, I received a letter from him, in which he expressed the fears he had suffered on my account, and advised me to continue in Paris, since the prince I served was not at liberty to quit it. He added, that to avoid exposing myself to an evident danger, it was necessary I should resolve to follow that prince's example, and go to mass. In fact, the king of Navarre had no other means of saving his life. He was awaked, with the prince of Condé, two hours before day, by a great number of soldiers, who rushed boldly into the chamber in the Louvre where they lay, and insolently commanded them to dress themselves and attend the king. They would not suffer the two princes to take their swords with them, who, as they passed, beheld several of their gentlemen massacred before their eyes. The king waited for them, and received them with a countenance and looks in which fury was visibly painted ; he ordered them, with the oaths and blasphemies so familiar to him, to abjure a religion that had been only taken up, he told them, to serve for a cloak to their rebellion. The condition to which these princes were reduced could not hinder them from discovering the regret they should find in obeying him. The king, transported with anger, told them, in a fierce and haughty tone, 'that he would no longer be contradicted in his opinions by his subjects ; that they, by their example, should teach others to revere him as the image of God, and cease to be enemies to the images of the mother of Christ.' He ended by declaring, that if they did not go to mass, he would treat them as criminals guilty of treason against divine and human majesty. The manner in which these words were pronounced, not suffering the princes to doubt their sincerity, they yielded to necessity, and performed what was required of them."

It appears that the number of Protestants thus murdered in cold blood, during eight days, all over the kingdom,

amounted to seventy-five thousand. It was not long, however, before Charles felt the most violent remorse for the barbarous action to which he had been forced to give the sanction of his name and authority. From the evening of the 24th August, he was observed to groan involuntarily at the recital of a thousand acts of cruelty, which every one boasted of in his presence. Of all those who were about the person of this prince, none possessed so great a share of his confidence as Ambrose Paré, his surgeon. This man, though a Huguenot, lived with him in so great a degree of familiarity that, soon after the massacre, the king took him aside, and disclosed to him freely the trouble of his soul. "Ambrose," said he, "I know not what has happened to me these two or three days past, but I feel my mind and body as much at enmity with each other as if I was seized with a fever; sleeping or waking the murdered Huguenots seem ever present to my eyes, with ghastly faces and weltering in blood. I wish the innocent and helpless had been spared." The order which was published the following day, forbidding the continuance of the massacre, was in consequence of this conversation.

Charles died at the castle of Vincennes, at the age of twenty-three, in the most exquisite tortures.

READING XXVII.

ACQUISITION OF SIBERIA BY RUSSIA.

1577.

RUSSIA which, in the present day, plays so conspicuous a part in the politics of Europe, was at this time under the domination of princes little better than barbarians, and of these Ivan, the reigning sovereign, exhibits the most striking example of what unrestricted power is capable when united to innate cruelty of disposition. Unconnected as Russia then was with Europe, the events which occurred in that unfortunate country created but little interest abroad: the conquest of Siberia was, how-

ever, neither the least important nor least singular which characterized the reign of the Muscovite Nero.

Jermak Timofeow, one of the atamans or chiefs of the Cossacks of the Don, had, for a long time, desolated, by his depredations, the shores of the Volga, as well as those of the Caspian Sea. Foreign merchants and ambassadors could no longer traverse those countries with any safety. In 1557, the troops, who had been sent for that purpose by the czar, pursued these robbers, destroyed some part of them, and dispersed the rest; but the greater number of these fugitives retreated up the course of the river Kama, under the command of the above-named chief. Having arrived at Orel, a small town then belonging to the family of the Strogonooffs, he procured from the rich merchants who traded with the Tatars of Siberia, guides and the requisite means for penetrating into that country, and at length succeeded in making himself master of it, after having, with unheard-of constancy and resolution, triumphed over every obstacle which either the natural barriers of the country itself, or the valour of its inhabitants opposed to him.

The name of Siberia generally awakens no other ideas in the mind, than those of ice, frost, snow, and intense cold; the imagination pictures to itself a wretched country, in which man, no longer the favourite, but the outcast of nature, is exposed to all the inclemency and fury of the elements. But these notions which have found such general belief are much exaggerated. Siberia is by no means the most miserable of countries. Vegetables, it is true, cannot be produced upon its iron soil; but the rein-deer, which comes there in aid to the strength of man, as the horse and the ox do elsewhere, nourishes with his milk, his blood, and his flesh, the Siberian, whose burdens he also bears. Immense forests, abounding in game, and numerous rivers well stocked with fish, furnish, moreover, inexhaustible (*never failing*) means of subsistence; while no country can boast greater fertility than the southern plains of Siberia.

The interior of the earth abounds with treasures of another description. It contains elephants' teeth in large quantities in a fossil state, the wrecks of a remote age, doubtless, deposited there by some mighty convulsion; extensive mines, many of which furnish gold and other

precious stones. Its rich furs, of which no other country can boast the possession, are more eagerly sought after than the pearls of Arabia or the diamonds of Golconda, and would, of themselves alone, constitute an extensive and opulent trade for the country, if it existed as an independent state.

But whither is it that the ambitious spirit of domination (*power*) does not penetrate? In vain has nature placed the liberties of Siberia under the protection of a rigorous climate: unable to colonize and people this country, the Russian government has made it the abode of the condemned. It is here that the victims of their own ambition, or of the faults or tyranny of ministers, illustrious victims and vulgar criminals, come alike to languish out the remainder of their existence.

Nothing in the history of this conquest strikes the attentive reader so much as the resemblance it bears, in many respects, to that of the Spaniards in America, the discovery of which took place much about the same time. Here, as in America, a chief, a savage Cortez, followed by priests, and mingling, as did the Spaniard, superstitious practices with deeds of ferocity, subjugates extensive populations with a handful of daring adventurers; for Jermak, who set out with six thousand soldiers, completed his conquest with less than fifteen hundred. He possessed, like the Spanish conqueror, all the resources of courage and cunning, nay even of genius, and he found in the Tatars more formidable adversaries than the subjects of Montezuma or of the Incas.

In both cases fire-arms produced the utmost astonishment and consternation among the natives of the respective countries; but in the north, as in the south, the most heartfelt devotion and patriotism defended the natal soil against the invasion of cruel and perfidious foreigners. The Siberians, the Vogoules, the Kirguis, and even the Samoiedes—so dear is his native country to man—battled for their barren steppes (*plains*) and for their frozen marshes with the same ardour, with the same desperate intrepidity, as the Peruvians and Mexicans for their fertile and beautiful land. The result was the same for all. As to the conquerors themselves, their fates were very dissimilar. Christopher Columbus and Fernando Cortez, both great men, experienced the ingratitude and neglect

of their princes : Jermak, a ferocious bandit, whose depredations and murders had, at the time of his setting out for Siberia, condemned him to the just vengeance of the law, was loaded with honours and favours by the czar. This was the consequence of his prudence in having, after the conquest was effected, and his power established at Siber, despatched to the Russian monarch one of his officers, to communicate to him his adventures, and lay his conquests at his feet. By this act of discretion, very remarkable in such a barbarian, he not only obtained his own pardon and that of his followers, but secured the possession of his acquisitions (*conquests*).

Subsequently to the conquest, Siberia continued a very wretched and neglected country. After the battle of Pultowa, Peter the Great exiled thither ten thousand Swedish prisoners, officers and soldiers. These unfortunates, almost all men of merit and resolution, being compelled to struggle against a rigorous climate and an ungrateful soil, displayed so much energy and industry, that they vanquished every obstacle in a manner almost incredible. Colonies of Russians, Poles, and Tatars, sent thither by the government since that time, have persevered in the efforts of the Swedes, and succeeded by cultivation, by clearing a part of the land, and by the increase of population, in rendering this inhospitable country habitable. More than thirty towns and two thousand villages are now established in Siberia, and an extensive and profitable commerce is carried on with China.

READING XXVIII.

THE FOUNDATION OF THE REPUBLIC OF THE UNITED PROVINCES.

1579.

OF all the foreign events which occurred during the reign of queen Elizabeth, that which will form the subject of the present reading was the most important at the time it occurred, and most fraught (*laden*) with consequences of high interest for the future. A little corner of the world,

almost buried under water, and which subsisted only by its herring fishery, became a formidable power, made head against Philip II., stripped his successors of almost all their possessions in the East Indies, and finally constituted itself the protector of them.

It cannot be denied that Philip II. was himself the cause of these people attaining such a degree of importance, and that all their greatness was entirely owing to that monarch's cruelty and despotism. The Netherlands, or Low Countries, were an assemblage of several lordships, which all belonged to Philip II. under different titles. Each of these had its peculiar laws and customs. In Friesland and in the territory of Groningen, for instance, a tribute of sixty thousand crowns was all that was claimed by the lord. No taxes could be laid on any of these cities. No employments were to be bestowed on any but natives. No foreign troops were to be kept in pay. No alteration could be made in the constitution without the consent of the three orders of the state. It was even declared by the ancient constitutions of Brabant, "That if the sovereign by violence or artifice should go about to infringe (*violate*) the privileges, the states should be wholly absolved (*released*) from their oath of allegiance (*duty*), and at full liberty to act in such manner as to them should seem most convenient." A governor of the province presided at these assemblies, in the prince's name, which governor was called stadtholder, that is, the holder of the states throughout all the German Netherlands.

Philip II., in 1559, gave the government of the provinces of Holland, Zealand, Friesland, and Utrecht, to William of Nassau, prince of Orange.

The Spanish monarch's chief desire was to be absolute sovereign in the Low Countries as he was in Spain. His great object in this was, that by possessing unrestricted (*unlimited*) power in a rich and large country which bordered so closely upon France, he might the more easily dismember (*divide*) that kingdom whenever he should judge necessary so to do.

With this view, he attempted to abrogate (*annul*) all the laws, to impose arbitrary taxes, to create new bishops, and to establish the office of the Inquisition, which he had been unable to introduce into Naples or Milan.

The Flemish (*the inhabitants of Flanders or the Netherlands*) are naturally good subjects, but bad slaves. The fear of the Inquisition alone made more Protestants than all the writings of Calvin, among a people whose natural disposition inclined them neither to novelty nor insurrections. The principal lords of Brussels were the first who joined together to make a representation of their rights to the governante of the Netherlands, Margaret of Parma, the natural daughter of Charles V. The court of Madrid called their meeting a conspiracy, but in the Low Countries it was deemed a legal act, and it is certain that the latter was the correct view of the case, for they deputed the count de Bery, and Montigni, lord de Montmorenci, to Spain, to lay their complaints before the king. They desired that the cardinal de Granville, the prime minister, whose intrigues (*underhand proceedings*) they dreaded, might be banished. The court sent the duke of Alva against them, with a body of Spanish and Italian troops, and with orders to make as much use of executioners as soldiers. What is in other places the most speedy method of stifling a civil war, was here the very occasion of raising one. "His arrival in the Netherlands," says an able writer in the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*, "was followed by the establishment of arbitrary tribunals, by absurd and oppressive edicts, which would have checked all commercial intercourse, by the judicial murder (*murder perpetrated with the forms of justice*) of counts Egmont and Horn, by the torture, captivity, and ignominious (*disgraceful*) death of thousands, whom a firm adherence (*attachment*) to their own religion, or even connivance (*voluntary blindness*) at the heresy of others, had exposed to the indignation of this sanguinary tyrant. The exiles, whom his cruelty had driven from their country, desperate from want, and finding no possibility of existence, made an assault upon Brille, a sea-port town in Holland, which, after a short resistance, fell into their possession. Alva hastened to anticipate the dangerous consequences of their success, but the people in the neighbourhood, eager to liberate themselves from the persecution, insolence, and usurpation of their savage masters, joined with the fortunate adventurers. A flame was kindled which torrents of blood were insufficient to extinguish; in a few days both

the provinces of Holland and Zealand had revolted from the Spaniards. The insurrection, which otherwise might have been a transitory (*momentary*) effort, was directed by William, prince of Orange, whose prudence in retreating to his paternal estate in Germany, on Alva's arrival in the Netherlands, had saved him from the share in which many of his friends were unfortunately and fatally entrapped. His illustrious birth, his extensive possessions, and, above all, his great personal qualities, pointed him out as the fittest person to maintain the cause of his fellow-citizens, as the injuries under which he smarted ensured his lasting enmity to their oppressors." It was with great difficulty, however, that William could raise an army; his lands in Germany were of little value, and the earldom of Nassau belonged to one of his brothers; but, by the interest of his brothers and friends, his own merit, and liberal promises, he found himself, at length, supplied with troops. These he sent into Friesland, under the command of his brother, count Louis. But his new raised army was cut off; this, however, did not discourage him; he raised another, composed of Germans and Frenchmen, whom a religious enthusiasm and hopes of plunder had engaged in his service. Fortune still continued to frown on him, and not being able to penetrate into the Netherlands, he was reduced to serve in the Huguenot armies in France. The severities of the Spanish court, however, furnished him with resources. The tax of the tenth penny on the sale of all personal estates, of the twentieth penny on real estates, and the hundredth on all landed estates, completely roused the resentment of the Flemish, and made the revolt general.

READING XXIX.

THE FOUNDATION OF THE REPUBLIC OF THE UNITED PROVINCES.—CONTINUED.

At length, in 1570, the prince of Orange entered Brabant with a small army, and retreated afterwards into Zealand and Holland. The city of Amsterdam, now so famous, was then an inconsiderable little town, and did

not dare to declare openly for the prince of Orange ; this city was at that time engaged in a new, and in appearance, a mean trade, but which, however, laid the foundation of its present greatness. The catching of herrings, and the art of salting them, do not appear very important objects in the history of the world ; and yet by these was this once barren and despised country raised to a formidable pitch of power. Venice had not more noble beginnings. The greatest empires were first raised from hamlets, and the maritime powers from a few private fishing boats.

The prince of Orange's whole dependence was upon a few pirates, some of whom, as we have seen, had surprised Brille ; Flushing was brought to declare in his favour by a curate. At length the states of Holland and Zealand assembled at Dordrecht, and the city of Amsterdam itself joined the cause, and declared him stadtholder ; so that he now held the same dignity from the people, which had been before conferred upon him by the king. After this they abolished the Roman Catholic religion, in order that their government might have nothing in common with the Spaniards.

These people, who had not, for a long time, been accounted (*considered*) of a martial disposition, became warriors in an instant. Never did two parties engage with more courage and fury. The Spaniards, at the siege of Haerlem, having thrown into the town the head of one of the prisoners they had taken, the besieged threw them back the heads of eleven Spaniards, with this inscription in writing, "Ten heads for the payment of the tenth penny, and the eleventh for interest." Haerlem afterwards yielded at discretion, when the conquerors ordered all the magistrates, ministers, and above one thousand five hundred of the inhabitants to be hanged.

The duke of Alva, whose inhumanities had lost the king his master two provinces, was, at length, recalled. He is said to have boasted, on leaving the Netherlands, that he had put eighteen thousand persons to death by the hands of executioners. The horrors of war were continued with equal fury under the new governor, the grand commander de Requesens. The prince of Orange's army was again defeated, and his brother slain ; but his party was strengthened by the animosity of the people,

who, though naturally of a peaceable disposition, having once passed the bounds of moderation, knew not where to stop. The siege of Leyden, which took place in 1574-5, is one of the strongest instances of what may be effected by perseverance and the love of liberty. The Dutch ventured on the very same expedient (*contrivance*); which they afterwards put in practice in the year 1672, when Louis XIV. was at the gates of Amsterdam; they opened the sluices, (*flood-gates*), and let in the waters of the Josel, the Maes, and the ocean, which overflowed all the country, while a fleet of two hundred vessels brought succours up to the town, over the Spanish works. This prodigy was equalled by another on the side of the besiegers, who were so bold as to continue the siege, and to undertake to draw off the inundation. The heroism and magnanimity of the Dutch was rewarded by the deliverance of their town.

After the death of the grand commander de Requesens, Philip, instead of endeavouring to restore peace in the Netherlands, by his presence, sent his natural brother, Don John of Austria, thither, a prince famous throughout all Europe for the glorious victory he gained over the Turks at Lepanto.

Don John was no favourite of Philip; the latter feared his reputation and was jealous of his designs. Nevertheless, he unwillingly made him governor of the Netherlands, hoping that he might be the means of bringing that people to their duty, as they respected in this prince the blood and high qualities of his father Charles V. In this, however, he was disappointed; the prince of Orange was proclaimed governor of Brabant, in the city of Brussels, as soon as Don John had quitted it, after his installation as governor-general of the Netherlands. But this honour, which they conferred on William, hindered the provinces of Brabant and Flanders from recovering their liberty, as the Dutch had done. There were too many great lords in these provinces, and the jealousy which they manifested towards the prince of Orange preserved ten provinces to the Spanish crown. They invited the archduke Matthias to be their governor-general, in conjunction with Don John of Austria.

All was now division and confusion. The prince of Orange, appointed by the states lieutenant-general to the

archduke Matthias, necessarily became this prince's secret rival ; both of these were rivals to Don John, and the states distrusted all three. Another party, equally discontented with the states and the three princes, completed the distractions of this wretched country. The states published, in 1578, an edict for liberty of conscience, but there was no longer any cure for the rage of factions. The same year Don John, after gaining a useless battle at Gemblours, died in the midst of these troubles, in the flower of his age.

The son of Charles V. was succeeded by a grandson no less illustrious ; this was Alexander Farnese, duke of Parma, a descendant from Charles by the mother's side, and from pope Paul III. by the father's, and the same who afterwards came into France to raise the siege of Paris, and give battle to Henry IV. History does not furnish us with a more celebrated man, and yet this illustrious captain, with all his authority, ability, and perseverance, could not prevent the foundation of the seven united provinces, nor check the progress of this republic, which arose under his very eyes, and soon bade defiance to the utmost efforts of the Spanish monarch.

READING XXX.

THE FOUNDATION OF THE REPUBLIC OF THE UNITED PROVINCES.—CONCLUDED.

THESE seven provinces, now called by the general name of "Holland," were, by the care of the prince of Orange, brought to form that union which, at first, appeared so brittle, and has since proved so durable, and by which seven states, though always independent of each other, and having different interests to support, have yet been ever as closely united in the great cause of liberty, as the bundle of arrows which forms their escutcheon, and is their truest emblem.

This union of Utrecht (1579), which was the foundation of the republic, was that of the stadtholdership likewise. William was declared chief of the seven united

provinces, under the title of captain, admiral-general, and stadtholder. The other ten provinces, which, together with Holland, might have formed the most powerful republic in the world, did not join with the seven small united provinces. These latter were their own protectors, while Brabant, Flanders, and the rest chose a foreign prince to defend them. Archduke Matthias being now of no further use, the states-general dismissed this son and brother of emperors with a small pension, and sent for Francis, duke of Anjou, and brother to Henry III. of France, with whom they had been in treaty for a considerable time.

It was at this time that Philip, who still continued inactive in Madrid, proscribed (*doomed to destruction*) the prince of Orange, and set a reward of twenty-five thousand crowns upon his head. This method of commanding assassinations, unheard of since the time of the Roman triumvirate (*Lepidus, Marc Anthony, and Augustus*) had been practised in France against the admiral de Coligni, father-in-law to this William, the price of whose blood had been fixed at fifty thousand crowns.

William's reply to Philip's edict of proscription, is the most beautiful thing of the kind to be found in history. From a subject, that he was before to Philip, he became his equal, from the instant of his being proscribed. In his apology we see the prince of an imperial house, not less ancient, nor formerly less illustrious, than that of Austria, and a stadtholder, who declares himself the accuser of the most powerful king in Europe, before the tribunal of every court, and of all mankind; and who shows himself far superior to Philip, inasmuch as having it in his power to proscribe him in turn, he abhors such revenge, and depends upon his sword alone for his safety.

Philip's power was at this very time become more formidable than it ever had been; for he had made himself master of Portugal (1580), without stirring from his cabinet; and still thought of reducing the united provinces. William had, on one hand, the attempts of assassins to dread, and on the other, the power of a new master in the duke of Anjou, who was arrived in the Netherlands, and had been acknowledged by the people as duke of Brabant and count of Flanders. He was soon defeated by the duke of Anjou, as he had been by the archduke Matthias.

This duke wished to be absolute sovereign over a country which had chosen him for its protector. From the earliest ages history presents examples of conspiracies formed against princes, but here a prince conspired against the people. He attempted to surprise at once Antwerp, Bruges, and the other towns he came to defend. Fifteen hundred Frenchmen were killed in the vain attempt to seize Antwerp; he failed in his design upon the other places, and, pressed by Alexander Farnese, on one side, and hated by the people on the other, he withdrew into France, and left the prince of Orange and the duke of Parma to dispute the Netherlands between them, which soon became the most illustrious theatre of war in Europe, and a military school, whither the brave of all countries repaired, to serve their apprenticeship in the field.

Philip avenged himself on the prince of Orange by the hands of assassins. A Frenchman, named Salcede, laid a plot for his life (1583). One Jaurigni, a Spaniard, who was before suspected of having poisoned Don John of Austria, wounded him with a pistol shot in Antwerp, and at length Balthazar Gérard, a native of Franche-Comté, murdered him in Delft (1584), in the presence of his princess, who thus beheld her second husband slain by the hand of an assassin, after having lost her first, as well as her father the admiral, in the fatal massacre of St. Bartholomew. This base and dastardly murder of the prince of Orange was not committed for the sake of the reward of the twenty-five thousand crowns offered by Philip, but through religious enthusiasm. The Jesuit Strada relates, that Gérard continued to declare in the midst of his torments, "That he had been instigated (*impelled*) to the commission of this act by a divine instinct."

At the time William the Silent was murdered, he was on the point of being declared count of Holland. The conditions of this new dignity had been already stipulated (*laid down*) by all the cities except those of Amsterdam and Gonda. By this it may be perceived that he had laboured at least as much for himself as for the republic.

His son Maurice could not pretend to this principality, but the seven united provinces declared him stadtholder, and he strengthened the edifice of public liberty, which had been founded by his father. As a general he was altogether worthy to enter the lists with Alexander Farnese;

and these two great men immortalized themselves by their deeds on this confined theatre, where the scene of war attracted the eyes of all nations. Had the duke of Parma acquired no other reputation than that which he gained by the siege of Antwerp (1584), he would have deservedly been reckoned among the greatest captains. The inhabitants of Antwerp defended themselves like the ancient Syrians, and Farnese took Antwerp, as Alexander, whose name he bore, took the city of Tyre, by raising a dam on the deep and rapid river Scheldt.

The new republic was obliged to implore the assistance of Elizabeth of England, who sent them four thousand men under the command of the earl of Leicester. This was a sufficient succour at that time. Prince Maurice had for a while a superior in the earl of Leicester, as his father had formerly in the duke of Anjou and the archduke Matthias; this nobleman assumed the title and rank of governor-general, which, however, was soon afterwards disavowed by his mistress. Maurice would never suffer any encroachment (*unlawful intrusion*) upon his dignity of stadtholder of the seven united provinces.

During the whole course of this war, which lasted so long and with such various success, Philip had never been able to recover the seven provinces, nor could his enemies deprive him of the others. The republic became every day so formidable by sea, as to have been not a little instrumental in destroying Philip's famous fleet, called the Invincible Armada, and in fact this people had for forty years resembled the Lacedemonians who repulsed the king of Persia. There were the same manners, the same simplicity, and the same equality of conditions at Amsterdam, as at Sparta, and a greater degree of sobriety. These provinces still resembled, in some things, the primitive ages of the world. At this time the use of keys and locks was not known in Friesland. They had nothing more than the absolute necessities of life, and those were not worth locking up; they were under no apprehension from their own countrymen, and they defended their flocks and harvest against the enemy. The dwellings in all the maritime provinces were no more than huts, where cleanliness constituted all the magnificence. Never was there a people less acquainted with refinement. When Louisa of Coligni, went to be married to William of Orange, an

open post waggon was sent to meet her, in which she made her entry seated on a plank. But towards the latter end of Maurice's life, and in the time of his son Frederick Henry, the Hague became an agreeable residence by the concourse of princes, ministers of state, and general officers who resorted thither, while Amsterdam rose, by its trade alone, to be the most flourishing and opulent city on the globe.

READING XXXI.

THE SPANISH ARMADA.

1588.

If it were required to point out the most critical period for the liberties, civil and religious, of our native country, there could be no hesitation in naming as such the years 1587 and 1588, which witnessed the arming, sailing, and subsequent defeat and dispersion, of the celebrated Spanish Invincible Armada.

All Europe had resounded for some time with the noise of the preparations which Philip II. of Spain was making, with a view to some important enterprise. He had been employed for several months in building ships of an extraordinary size, and in collecting stores for their equipment; while the Duke of Parma had made such numerous levies in Germany, Italy, and the Netherlands, as showed that he intended to take the field, against the next campaign, with a much more powerful army than any which he had hitherto commanded. These preparations were chiefly made with the intention of invading England, and subjecting it entirely to his dominion. As it was, however, necessary to conceal, if possible, from Elizabeth the purpose of this armament, and thus to attack her unprepared, he gave out that a part of his fleet was to co-operate with his land forces, in the reduction of Holland, and the rest to be employed in the defence of his transatlantic (*American*) dominions.

Elizabeth had too much penetration to be easily deceived by the artifices of a prince with whose duplicity she was so thoroughly acquainted; and in the spring of the year one thousand five hundred and eighty-seven,

she sent Sir Francis Drake with a fleet to the coast of Spain to interrupt his preparations. By this gallant seaman the Spanish ships of war which had been sent to oppose him were dispersed, and near a hundred vessels filled with naval stores and provisions, besides two large galleons, were destroyed in the harbour of Cadiz. This loss rendered it impossible for Philip to execute his enterprise against England till the following year.

Elizabeth now began to put her kingdom into a posture (*state*) of defence. An army was raised amounting to eighty thousand men, twenty thousand of whom were stationed on the south side of the island, twenty-two thousand foot and a thousand horse were posted at Tilbury, in Essex, under the earl of Leicester, and the remainder, commanded by Lord Hunsdown, were kept near the Queen's person, in readiness to march against the enemy wheresoever they should attempt to land. Elizabeth did not trust implicitly (*blindly*) at this juncture (*crisis*) either to her own judgment or that of her counsellors of state; Lord Gray of Wilton, Sir Francis Knolles, Sir John Norris, Sir Francis Bingham, and Sir Roger Williams, officers of distinguished reputation, were appointed to consider of the measures proper to be pursued; and by their advice all the sea-ports which lay most conveniently for a descent were fortified, the militia was raised, and the resolution formed that if, notwithstanding these precautions, it should be found impossible to prevent the enemy from landing, all the country round should be laid waste, and a general engagement avoided till the several armies effected a junction with each other.

While these prudent measures were pursued by land, Elizabeth exerted herself strenuously in the equipment of her fleet. When she began her preparations, it did not amount to more than thirty-ships, and none of these were nearly equal in size to those of the enemy. But this disadvantage was in some measure compensated (*made up for*) by the skill and dexterity of the English sailors; and the number of her ships was soon augmented through the alacrity and zeal which her subjects displayed in her defence. By her wise administration she had gained their esteem and confidence. The animosity against her person and government, which the differences of religion had excited in the minds of some, was, at pre-

sent, swallowed up in that universal abhorrence which the Catholics as well as Protestants entertained of the tyranny of Spain. Great pains were taken to keep alive and heighten that abhorrence. Accounts were spread of the horrid barbarities which the Spaniards had perpetrated (*committed*) in the Netherlands and America: descriptions were drawn, in the blackest colours, of the inhuman cruelties of the Inquisition, and pictures were dispersed of the various instruments of torture employed by the inquisitors, of which, it was said, there was abundant store on board the Spanish fleet. These and such other considerations made a strong impression not upon Elizabeth's Protestant subjects only, but likewise upon the Catholics; who, although the pope had published a bull (*decree*) of excommunication against her, yet resolved not to yield to the Protestants either in loyalty to their sovereign, or in zeal for the independency of the state. The whole kingdom was of one mind and spirit; some Catholics entered into the army as volunteers, and others joined with Protestants in equipping armed vessels. Every maritime (*sea-port*) town fitted out one or more. The citizens of London furnished thirty, although only fifteen were required of them; and between forty and fifty were equipped by the nobility and gentry throughout the kingdom. But all these ships were of small size, in comparison of those which composed the Spanish fleet; and there was still much ground for the most anxious apprehension with regard to the final issue (*result*) of the war.

No person felt greater anxiety on this occasion than Elizabeth, the principal object of whose prudent politics for thirty years had been to avoid the critical situation to which she was now reduced. She did not, however, suffer any symptoms of uneasiness to appear, but wore at all times a placid and animated countenance, and in her whole behaviour displayed an undaunted spirit, which commanded admiration and applause.

The States of Holland, in the mean time, were not inattentive to the approaching danger, nor did they think themselves less interested to provide against it, than if Philip had intended to begin his operations with an attack upon the Netherlands. From their fears of an immediate attack they were delivered by intelligence of the enormous size of the Spanish ships, to which the coasts of Holland

and Zeeland were inaccessible (*unapproachable*). They turned their principal attention, therefore, to the assistance of their ally ; and kept their fleet, consisting of more than eighty ships, prepared for action. At Elizabeth's desire, they sent thirty of that number to cruise (*sail*) between Calais and Dover ; and afterwards, when the Duke of Parma's design of transporting his army to England was certainly known, they ordered Justin de Nassau, Admiral of Zeeland, to join Lord Seymour, one of the English admirals, with five-and-thirty ships, to block up those sea-ports in Flanders where the duke intended to embark.

The principal English fleet was stationed at Plymouth, and the chief command of it was given to Charles, Lord Howard of Effingham, who had under him as vice-admirals, Sir Francis Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher, three of the most expert and bravest seamen in the world.

READING XXXII.

THE SPANISH ARMADA, CONTINUED.

IN the beginning of May one thousand five hundred and eighty-eight, Philip's preparations, which had so long kept all Europe in amazement and suspense (*doubt*), were brought to a conclusion. That Armada, to which the Spaniards, in confidence of success, gave the name of Invincible, consisted of one hundred and fifty ships, most of which were greatly superior in strength and size to any that had been seen before. It had on board near twenty thousand soldiers, and eight thousand sailors, besides two thousand volunteers of the most distinguished families in Spain. There were also on board 180 monks of different orders. It carried two thousand six hundred and fifty great guns, was victualled for half a year, and contained such a quantity of military stores, as only the Spanish monarch, enriched by the treasures of the Indies and America, could supply.

Philip's preparations in the Netherlands were not less advanced than those in Spain. Besides a flourishing

army of thirty thousand foot and four thousand horse, which the Duke of Parma had assembled in the neighbourhood of Nieuport and Dunkirk, that active general had, with incredible labour, provided a great number of flat bottomed vessels, fit for transporting both horse and foot, and had brought sailors to navigate them from the towns in the Baltic. Most of these vessels had been built at Antwerp, and as he durst not venture to bring them from thence by sea to Nieuport, lest they should have been interrupted by the Dutch, he was obliged to send them along the Scheldt to Ghent, from Ghent to Bruges by the canal which joins these towns, and from Bruges to Nieuport by a new canal which he dug for the occasion. This laborious undertaking, in which several thousand workmen had been employed, was already finished, and the duke now waited for the arrival of the Spanish fleet, hoping, that as soon as it should approach, the Dutch and English ships that cruised upon the coast would retire into their harbours.

The Armada would have left Lisbon in the beginning of May, but the Marquis de Santa Croce, who had been appointed admiral, was, at the very time fixed for its departure, seized with a violent fever, of which he died in a few days ; and, by a singular fatality, the Duke de Paliano, the vice-admiral, died likewise at the same time. Santa Croce being reckoned the first naval officer in Spain, Philip had much reason to lament his death, and it should seem that he found it extremely difficult to fill his place, since he named for his successor the Duke de Medina Sidonia, a nobleman of considerable reputation, but entirely unacquainted with naval affairs. This defect in the commander-in-chief Philip remedied in some measure, by giving him Martinez de Recaldo, a seaman of great experience, for his vice-admiral.

In these arrangements so much time was lost, that the fleet could not leave Lisbon till the twenty-ninth of May. It had not advanced far in its voyage to Corunna, at which place it was to receive some troops and stores, when it was overtaken by a violent storm, and dispersed. All the ships, however, reached Corunna, though considerably damaged, except four. They were repaired with the utmost diligence, the king sending messengers every day to hasten their departure ; yet several weeks passed before

they could be put into a condition to resume the voyage.

In the mean time a report was brought to England, that the Armada had suffered so much from the storm as to be unfit for proceeding in the intended enterprise, and so well attested did this intelligence appear to Queen Elizabeth, that, at her desire, Secretary Walsingham wrote to the English admiral requiring him to lay up four of his largest ships and to discharge the seamen. Lord Howard was fortunately less credulous (*believing*) on this occasion than either Elizabeth or Walsingham, and desired that he might be allowed to retain these ships in the service, even though it should be at his own expense, till more certain information should be received. In order to procure it, he set sail with a brisk north wind for Corunna, intending, in case he should find the Armada so much disabled as had been reported, to attempt to complete its destruction. On the coast of Spain he received intelligence of the truth; at the same time, the wind having changed from north to south, he began to dread that the Spaniards might have sailed for England, and therefore he returned without delay to his former station at Plymouth.

Soon after his arrival, he was informed that the Armada was in sight. He immediately weighed (*took up his*) anchor and sailed out of the harbour, still uncertain of the course the enemy intended to pursue. On the next day he perceived them steering directly towards him, drawn up in the form of a crescent (*half-moon*), extending seven miles from one extremity to another. It was for some time believed that Plymouth was the place of their destination; and it was the opinion of many persons in that age, that their enterprise would have been more successful than it proved, had they landed there, and not proceeded up the channel. By doing this, it was supposed, they would have drawn Elizabeth's whole force to the south-west coast of the island, and have rendered it easier for the Duke of Parma to transport his troops. But in this expectation it is probable they would have been extremely disappointed, as the Dutch fleet alone would have been able to block up the sea-ports in Flanders: the English fleet might have destroyed the Armada had it once entered Plymouth harbour, and Elizabeth's land forces would have been an

overmatch for all the Spanish troops which the Armada had on board. But if the Duke de Medina ever intended to make a descent at Plymouth, he soon changed his design, and adhered (*kept*) closely afterwards to the execution of the plan prescribed to him by the Court of Spain. This was to steer quite through the channel till he should reach the coast of Flanders, and after driving away the Dutch and English ships, by which the harbours of Nieuport and Dunkirk were besieged, to convoy the Duke of Parma's army to England, and to land there the forces that were on board the fleet. In compliance with these instructions, he proceeded in his course, without turning aside to the English, who were drawn up along the coast, and ready to receive him.

Lord Howard, considering that the Spaniards would probably be much superior to him in close fight, by reason of the size of their vessels, and the number of their troops, wisely resolved to content himself with harassing them in their voyage, and with watching attentively all the advantages which might be derived from storms, cross winds, and such like fortuitous (*chance*) accidents. It was not long before he discerned a favourable opportunity of attacking the vice-admiral Recaldo. This he did in person; and on that occasion displayed so much dexterity in working his ship and in loading and firing his guns, as greatly alarmed the Spaniards for the safety of their vice-admiral. From that time they kept much closer to one another; notwithstanding which the English on the same day attacked one of the largest vessels. Other Spanish ships came up in time to her relief, but in their hurry, one of the principal galleons, which had a great part of the treasure on board, ran against another ship, and had one of her masts broken. In consequence of this misfortune she fell behind, and was taken by Sir Francis Drake, who on the same day took another capital ship, which had been accidentally set on fire.

Several other rencounters happened, and in all of them the English proved victorious, through the great advantage which they derived from the lightness of their ships, and the dexterity of the sailors. The Spaniards in that age did not sufficiently understand nautical (*naval*) tactics to be able to avail themselves of the unusual magnitude

of their ships. The English sailed round them, approached or retired with a velocity that filled them with amazement, and did infinitely greater execution with their cannon; for while every shot of theirs proved effectual, their ships suffered very little damage from the enemy, whose guns were planted too high, and generally spent their force in the air.

READING XXXIII.

THE SPANISH ARMADA, CONTINUED.

THE Spaniards, however, still continued to advance till they came opposite to Calais; there the Duke de Medina having ordered them to cast anchor, he sent information to the Duke of Parma of his arrival, and intreated him to hasten the embarkation of his forces. The duke set out immediately from Bruges, where the messenger found him, for Nieuport, and he began to put his troops on board. But at the same time he informed Medina that, agreeably to the king's instructions, the vessels which he had prepared were proper only for transporting the troops, but were utterly unfit for fighting; and for this reason, till the Armada was brought still nearer, and the coast cleared of the Dutch ships, which had blocked up the harbours of Nieuport and Dunkirk, he could not stir from his present station, without exposing his army to certain ruin, the consequence of which would probably be the entire loss of the Netherlands.

In compliance with this request, the Armada was ordered to advance, and it had arrived in sight of Dunkirk, between the English fleet on the one hand, and the Dutch on the other, when a sudden calm put a stop to all its motions. In this situation the three fleets remained for one whole day. About the middle of the night a breeze sprung up, and Lord Howard had recourse to an expedient which had been happily devised the day before. Having filled eight ships with pitch, sulphur, and other combustible materials, he set fire to them, and sent them before the wind against the different divisions of the Spanish fleet.

When the Spaniards beheld these ships in flames approaching towards them, it brought to their remembrance the havoc which had been made by the fireships employed against the Duke of Parma's bridge at the siege of Antwerp. The darkness of the night increased the terror with which their imaginations were overwhelmed, and the panic flew from one end of the fleet to the other. Each crew, anxious only for their own preservation, thought of nothing but how to escape from the present danger. Some of them took time to weigh their anchors, but others cut their cables, and suffered their ships to drive, with blind precipitation, without considering whether they did not thereby expose themselves to a greater danger than that which they were so solicitous to avoid. In this confusion the ships ran foul of one another ; the shock was dreadful, and several of them received so much damage as to be rendered unfit for future use.

When daylight returned, Lord Howard had the satisfaction to find that his stratagem had fully produced the desired effect. The enemy were still in extreme disorder, and their ships widely separated and dispersed. His fleet had lately received a great augmentation by the ships fitted out by the nobility and gentry, and by those under Lord Seymour, who had left Justin de Nassau as alone sufficient to guard the coast of Flanders. Being bravely seconded by Sir Francis Drake, and all the other officers, he made haste to improve the advantage which was now presented to him, and attacked the enemy in different quarters at the same time with the utmost impetuosity and fury. The engagement began at four in the morning and lasted till six at night. The Spaniards displayed in every rencounter the most intrepid bravery ; but, from the causes already mentioned, they did very little execution against the English, while many of their own ships were greatly damaged, and ten of the largest were either run aground, or sunk, or compelled to surrender.

The principal galeas, commanded by Moncada, having Maurisquez, the inspector-general, on board, with three hundred galley-slaves and four hundred soldiers, was driven ashore near Calais. She was quickly followed by some English pinnaces, and those were supported by the admiral's long boat, in which he had sent a body of select

soldiers to their assistance. Moncada himself, and almost all the Spaniards, were either killed or drowned in attempting to reach the shore. The rowers were set at liberty. About fifty thousand ducats were found on board. Maurisquez escaped, and was the first who carried the news of the disaster of the fleet to Spain.

One of the capital ships, having been long battered by an English captain of the name of Cross, was sunk during the engagement. A few only of the crew were saved, who related that one of the officers on board having proposed to surrender, he was killed by another, who was enraged at his proposal; that this other was killed by the brother of the first; and that it was in the midst of this sanguinary scene, which paints the ferocious character of the Spaniards, that the ship had gone to the bottom.

The fate of two other of the Spanish galleons is particularly mentioned by the contemporary historians. One of them was called the St. Philip, and the other the St. Matthew, which had on board, besides several other nobility, two general officers, Don Francisco Toledo, of the family of Orgas, and Don Diego Pimentel, brother to the Marquis of Tomnarez. After an obstinate engagement, in which the admiral's ship fought along with them, they were obliged to run ashore on the coast of Flanders, where they were taken by the Dutch. Toledo was drowned, and Pimentel and all the rest who survived were made prisoners.

The Duke de Medina was much dejected at these misfortunes, and still more when he reflected on the superior skill of the enemy. For it is well attested, that in all the engagements which had been fought since the first appearance of the Armada in the channel, the English had lost only one small ship and about a hundred men. Animated by their past success, with sanguine hopes of final victory, they were now more formidable than ever. Medina dreaded from a continuance of the combat, the entire destruction of his fleet. He could not, without the greatest danger, remain any longer in his present situation, and much less could he venture to approach near the coast of Flanders.

It now appeared how great an error Philip had committed, in neglecting to secure some commodious harbours in Zealand. He had, from the first, supposed that the

enemy's ships would fly to their respective ports, as soon as his stupendous (*immense*) Armada should appear. But this Armada had been made unfit for the purpose for which it was designed (*intended*) by means of that enormous expense which he bestowed in order to render it invincible. In constructing it, no attention had been given to the nature of those narrow seas in which it was to be employed; and the consequence of this important error was, that even if the English fleet had been unable to contend with the Spaniards in the deeper parts of the channel, yet they would have prevented them from landing; and the Dutch fleet lying in shallow water, to which the galleons durst not approach, would still have rendered it impossible for the Spanish fleet and army to act in concert (*together*).

This the Duke de Medina at length perceived, and he did not hesitate in resolving to abandon the further prosecution of his enterprise. The only subject of his deliberation now was, how he might, with the least difficulty and danger, get back to Spain. Had he been ever so much inclined to return through the channel, in which he must have been continually harassed by the enemy, yet the wind, which blew strong from the south, would have prevented him. He therefore resolved to sail northward, and to make the circuit of the British Isles.

This resolution was no sooner understood by the English admiral, than, having despatched Lord Seymour with a part of the fleet to join the Dutch in watching the motions of the Duke of Parma, he set sail himself with the greater part of it in pursuit of the Spaniards. He followed close in the rear for three days without attacking them. This he declined from the apprehension of his not having a sufficient quantity of gunpowder, with which he had been ill supplied by the public stores. Had he not been deterred from renewing his attack by this provoking circumstance, he might have forced the Spaniards to an engagement off Flamborough-head; and it is asserted by a respectable contemporary historian (Grotius), that so great was the distress of the Spanish fleet, and such the admiral's dread of the long and dangerous voyage before him, that he would have surrendered without resistance, in case he had been attacked. But he was saved from the disgrace in which this action would have involved

his name, through the necessity under which the English admiral found himself of returning to England, to supply the deficiency of his stores.

READING XXXIV.

. THE SPANISH ARMADA, CONCLUDED.

LORD HOWARD had reason to be incensed (*irritated*) against those by whose negligence he was thus disabled from completing the glory which his gallant conduct had procured him. In the issue, however, it would have been unfortunate if he had delayed his return. The two fleets sailed in opposite directions, and were not far distant from each other, when a dreadful storm arose. The English reached home, though not without difficulty, yet without sustaining any considerable loss. But the Spaniards were exposed to the storm in all its rage, and became no less objects of pity to their enemies, than they had lately been of dread and terror. Having hitherto kept near each other, lest the English should renew the attack, this circumstance proved the first cause of their disasters. The ships were driven violently against each other, and thereby many of them were rendered an easy prey to the fury of the waves. At length they were dispersed. In order to enable them to ride out the storm, the horses, mules, and baggage were thrown overboard. This precaution was of advantage only to such of the ships as were stronger, or more fortunate, than the rest. Some of them were dashed to pieces on the coast of Norway, or sunk in the middle of the ocean. Others were thrown upon the coast of Scotland and the western isles, and more than thirty were driven, by another storm which overtook them from the west, on different parts of the coast of Ireland. Of these, some afterwards reached home in the most shattered condition, under the vice-admiral Recaldo; others were shipwrecked amongst the rocks and shallows; and of those which reached the shore, the crews were barbarously murdered, from an impression, it was pretended, that, in a country where there were so many disaffected Catholics, it would have been dangerous to show mercy to so great a

number of the enemy. The Duke de Medina, having kept out in the open seas, escaped shipwreck, and arrived at St Andrews, in Biscay, about the end of September.

The calamities of the Spaniards did not end with their arrival in Spain. Two of the galleons which had ridden out the storm, were accidentally set on fire, and consumed to ashes in the harbour. Great numbers, especially of the nobility and gentry, accustomed to a life of ease and pleasure, had died at sea ; and many more expired afterwards of diseases occasioned by the hardships they had undergone.

Very different accounts are given by various historians of the total loss sustained. Some assert that it amounted to thirty-two ships, and ten thousand men ; but others, without pretending to ascertain the number of men, which could not, they say, be less than fifteen thousand, affirm that more than eighty ships were taken, destroyed, or lost. This dreadful calamity was sensibly felt all over Spain, and there was scarcely a single family of rank in the kingdom, that did not go into mourning for the death of some near relation ; insomuch that Philip, dreading the effect which this universal face of sorrow might produce upon the minds of the people, imitated the conduct of the Roman senate after the battle of Cannæ, and published an edict to abridge (*shorten*) the time of public mourning.

While the people of Spain were thus overwhelmed with affliction, there was nothing to be heard in England and the United Provinces but the voice of festivity and joy. In Holland, medals were struck in commemoration of the happy event ; and in both countries, days of solemn thanksgiving to Heaven were appointed for their deliverance. Elizabeth went for this purpose to St. Paul's cathedral, seated in a triumphal chariot, and surrounded by her ministers and nobles, amidst a great number of flags and colours which had been taken from the enemy, while the citizens were ranged in arms on each side of the streets through which she passed. Nor did the destruction of the Armada give joy only to the English and the Dutch ; all Europe had trembled at the thoughts of its success. For although it can hardly be supposed that Philip was so romantic as to flatter himself with the hopes of attaining universal monarchy, yet it is not to be imagined that he

aspired only at the conquest of England and Holland. He had, before this time, formed the plan, which he afterwards pursued, of subduing France. Nor can it be believed that any thing less would have satisfied his ambition, than the subjection of every Protestant state in Europe, and the utter extirpation (*rooting out*) of the reformed religion.

His ambition was, on this occasion, severely mortified (*hurt*), but as he possessed in a high degree the art of concealing his emotions, he received the intelligence of the disaster that had befallen him with an appearance of magnanimity and resignation to the will of Heaven, which, if it were not affected, deserved the highest praise. He returned thanks to God that his calamity was not greater. He issued orders to have the utmost care taken of the sick and wounded who had survived the general catastrophe (*misfortune*). And instead of forbidding the Duke of Medina Sidonia to come to court, as is alleged (*asserted*) by some historians, he wrote to him in the most obliging terms, expressing his gratitude for the zeal which he had discovered in his service ; and observing, that no man could answer for the success of an enterprise, which, like that wherein the duke had been engaged, depended upon the winds and waves.

Philip's behaviour towards the Duke of Parma on this difficult occasion, evinced the same display of justice that appeared in his letter to Medina Sidonia. Notwithstanding the many proofs which Farnese had exhibited in the sight of all Europe of indefatigable vigour and activity, as well as of heroic valour, yet the failure of the expedition against England was by some ascribed (*attributed*) to his negligence in making the necessary preparations, and by others to his excessive caution or timidity. But Philip refused to listen to these groundless calumnies. He still continued to repose in the duke his wonted (*accustomed*) confidence ; and testified towards him all that attachment and esteem which his conduct in the Netherlands had deserved. The truth is, that as the principal error in conducting the expedition had been committed by neglecting the Duke of Parma's advice, so no person was more deeply interested in its success ; since, if the Armada had opened a passage for his troops, the whole direction of the enterprise would have belonged to him,

and the noblest opportunity to which his ambition could aspire have been given of exerting those illustrious military talents which had before acquired him such distinguished renown.

The duke had the greater reason to entertain the hopes of victory, in case his army could have been transported to England, as Elizabeth had, from her partiality for the Earl of Leicester, bestowed the chief command of her land forces upon that nobleman, who was but little entitled, either by his courage or abilities, to so great a trust. Her good fortune, or, more properly, the kind providence of Heaven so conspicuously (*manifestly*) exercised in her behalf, saved her from the consequences with which this unjustifiable step might have been attended. It was perhaps the only imprudent measure of which, at this difficult crisis, she can be justly accused; and she fully atoned (*made up*) for it by the wisdom, vigour, and fortitude which she displayed in every other part of her conduct.

READING XXXV.

THE INQUISITION.

THE name of Philip II. is so intimately blended (*mixed up*) with that of the Inquisition, that the preceding account would appear incomplete without some notice of an institution which he converted (*turned*) into so terrific an instrument of tyrannical power. The Inquisition has only been known in Europe since the beginning of the thirteenth century. Before that time the bishops and civil magistrates inquired after those stigmatized (*denounced*) by the Catholic church as heretics, and either condemned them to banishment, or to the forfeiture of their property and estates, or else to some other penalties, which very rarely extended to death. But the vast number of heresies which appeared towards the end of the twelfth century caused that tribunal to be established; the pope sent several ecclesiastics to the Catholic princes and bishops, to exhort them to take an extraordinary care in the extirpation (*rooting out*) of heresies, and to bring obstinate heretics to punishment, and thus things continued till the year 1250.

In the year 1251, Innocent IV. authorized the Dominican friars, with the assistance of the bishops, to take cognizance of (*inquire into*) this sort of crimes; and Clement IV. confirmed these tribunals, in the year 1265. Afterwards, there were several courts erected in Italy, and in the kingdoms which were dependents of the crown of Arragon, till such time that the Inquisition was established in the kingdom of Castile, in the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, and afterwards in that of Portugal, by King John III., in the year 1557.

Until that time, the inquisitors had a limited power, and it was often contested by the bishops, to whom the cognizance of heretical crimes belonged. According to the canons (*ecclesiastical laws*), it was contrary to the rules of the Church for priests to sentence any criminals to death, much more for those crimes which the civil laws often punished with far less severe penalties; but ancient right yielding to new power, the Dominican friars have, by the pope's bulls (*decrees*), been since the time of Innocent in possession of this extraordinary jurisdiction, from which the bishops have been excluded. The inquisitors now only wanted the authority of the prince to enable them to execute their sentences. Before Isabella of Castile came to the throne, the Dominican John de Torquemada, her confessor, and afterwards cardinal, made her promise to persecute all infidels and heretics, as soon as it should be in her power so to do. She prevailed over Ferdinand, her husband, to obtain, in the year 1483, bulls from Pope Sixtus IV., to constitute an inquisitor-general over the kingdoms of Arragon and Valencia, for these two kingdoms were under his own jurisdiction, separate from that of Isabella, and this high office she obtained for Torquemada. Afterwards, the pope extended his jurisdiction over all the states and countries of the Catholic kings, and then Ferdinand and Isabella established a supreme council of the Inquisition, of which Ferdinand was made president. This council was composed of an inquisitor-general (nominated by the King of Spain, and confirmed by the pope), of five counsellors, whereof one was to be a Dominican, of a procurator, two secretaries of the king's chamber, two secretaries of the council, an alguazil-mayor (*superior magistrate*), a receiver, two reporters, and two qualificators and consultants. The

number of the familiars and inferior officers was very great, because all who belong to the Inquisition, not being amenable (*subject*) to any other jurisdiction, shelter themselves from the ordinary courts of justice.

The supreme council had a full and sole authority over the other Inquisitions, which cannot perform any *auto* (*execution*) without leave from the inquisitor-general. The particular Inquisitions were those of Seville, Toledo, Granada, Cordova, Cuenza, Valladolid, Murcia, Saragossa, Valencia, Barcelona, Sardinia, Palermo, Canaries, Mexico, Carthagená, and Lima. Every one of these Inquisitions was composed of three inquisitors, three secretaries, one alguazil-mayor, and of three receivers, qualificators, and consulters.

All persons that take any of these employments are obliged to make out their proofs *de causa limpia*, that is, that their family is not stained with any thing of Judaism or heresy, and that they are Catholics from the beginning.

The proceedings of this tribunal are very unusual. A man is arrested and lies in prison, without knowing the crime he is accused of, or the witnesses which depose (*give testimony*) against him. He cannot come out thence, unless he will admit the fault, of which often he is not guilty, and which the desire of liberty forces him to confess.

There is no confronting of witnesses, nor any means for a man to defend himself, this tribunal affecting above all things an inviolable secrecy. It proceeds against all heretics, but chiefly against Judaizing Christians (*converted Jews*) and secret Mahometans, with whom the expulsion of Jews and Moors by Ferdinand and Isabella had filled all Spain.

The severity of this court was so excessive, that the inquisitor Torquemada tried above a hundred thousand persons, of whom six thousand were condemned to be burnt within the space of fourteen years.

The general acts of the Inquisition, which by the greatest part of Europe are looked upon only as a bare execution of criminals, amongst the Spaniards are esteemed a religious ceremony, by which his Catholic majesty gives public proof of his zeal for religion, for which reason they are called *autos da fé*, acts of faith.

The Inquisition was established in Germany, 1244, by the Emperor Frederick II., who thought by this means to free himself from the accusation of atheism, laid to his charge by the then pope. He issued four decrees, by which he ordered the secular (*non-ecclesiastical*) judges to deliver up to the flames all whom the inquisitors should condemn as obstinate heretics, and to perpetual imprisonment such as they should declare repentant ones.

In 1255, Pope Alexander III. established the Inquisition in France, under St. Lewis ; and towards the end of the thirteenth century Venice had also received it, but adopted the prudent measure of subjecting it to the senate, and of not allowing the fines and confiscations to become the perquisites (*fees*) of the inquisitors.

The Inquisition has proved itself less cruel at Rome and in Italy, where the Jews possess considerable privileges. Pope Paul IV., who gave too great a latitude to the tribunal of the Roman Inquisition, was detested by the Romans ; the people insulted his remains when being carried to the grave, threw his statue into the Tiber, demolished the prisons of the Inquisition, and pelted the inquisitors with stones. The Italian Inquisition has never equalled the cruelties and atrocities of Spain ; the greatest evil it has inflicted upon Italy being that of keeping that witty and ingenious people in the bonds of the grossest ignorance.

In 1808, the Inquisition was suppressed in Spain by a decree of Napoleon, and this suppression was confirmed by the Cortes in 1813. It was, however, re-established by Ferdinand VII. Pius VII. abolished the use of torture in all the tribunals of the holy office, a resolution officially communicated to the ambassadors of Spain and Portugal. The last person burnt by the Inquisition was a female accused of having made a compact (*contract*) with the devil. She suffered at Toledo, on the 7th November, 1781.

The number of persons who have been condemned by the Inquisition, and have

perished in the flames	..	..	31,912
Burnt in effigy	..	..	17,659
Condemned to severe penance	..	..	291,450
Total			341,021

READING XXXVI.

ABJURATION OF HENRY IV. OF FRANCE.
1593.

HIS ASSASSINATION BY RAVAILLAC.
1610.

NEITHER France, nor perhaps any other country, ancient or modern, ever gave birth to a prince so distinguished by all the higher qualities of the mind as Henry IV. These virtues, not less than the romantic character of his history, might of themselves justify a notice of him in this place, independently of the interest attached to him as being so intimately connected with the politics of Queen Elizabeth.

France had, for a long time, been desolated by the quarrel between the Catholics and Huguenots, or Protestants. At the head of the former faction were the Guises, of the latter, Henry IV. King of Navarre, which at that time was a separate kingdom.

All the provinces were inundated with blood, the towns were taken and then retaken by either party, and the fields laid waste ; while continual skirmishes exterminated (*destroyed*) the nobility, and depopulated the kingdom. In this violent crisis of the state, Paris was the centre of discord.

The religion which Henry professed was a pretext for many of his rebellious subjects in their endeavours to foment (*encourage*) political troubles ; for which reason several of the king's best friends, and even Rosny himself, (afterwards the Duke of Sully) although a Calvinist, advised their master to embrace the Roman communion. "The cannon—canon—of the mass," said they, "will be the best for bringing the rebels to subjection." The Protestant ministers had assured Henry that his salvation might be effected in the Catholic Church. Since, therefore, he found his conscientious scruples removed, he determined to be directed in this affair by sound policy. "Paris," said he, one day, when in a joking mood, "Paris is well worth a mass."

All the court repaired to Saint Denis, in which was to be performed the ceremony of his abjuration, the pro-

cession being conducted with considerable pomp and splendour. The streets were carpeted and strewn with flowers. The people made the air re-echo with acclamations and cries of "Long live the king." The fair sex, shedding tears of joy, exclaimed, "May God bless him and conduct him soon into our church of Notre Dame." Upon entering that of Saint Denis, he found the Archbishop of Bourges, in his pontifical habit, seated in an arm chair covered with white damask, having the arms of France embroidered on it, and by the side of this prelate, who in this ceremony performed the functions (*duties*) of grand almoner, the Cardinal de Bourbon, and several bishops and monks belonging to the abbey, who waited for him with the cross, the holy gospel, and the holy water. The king having approached, the Archbishop asked him, "Who are you?" "*I am the king*," replied Henry. "What is your request?" "*I ask to be admitted into the bosom of the Holy, Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Church.*" "Do you desire it sincerely?" "*Yes, I will and desire it.*" At the same time kneeling down, he made a profession of faith in these terms:—"I swear and protest, in the face of Almighty God, to live and die in the faith of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Religion, and to protect and defend it against all persons whomsoever at the peril of my blood and life, renouncing all heresies contrary to the same." He then delivered into the archbishop's hand a paper, upon which *this profession of faith was written, and signed with his own hand. Raising up the king, the prelate gave him his ring to kiss, pronounced his absolution, gave him his benediction, and embraced him.

Towards the commencement of the autumn of the year 1601, Henry being then at Calais, Elizabeth wrote to him the most flattering letters, and requested that she might have an interview with him, assuring him that if he would acquiesce in her wish, she was resolved, notwithstanding her advanced age, to embark and to proceed half-way over the channel between Dover and Calais, in order to meet him, if he would perform the other half. The king made various excuses,—first, his anxiety for the health of the Queen of England: then, that it would be wrong in him to expose her to the uncertainty of a sea voyage: next, the urgency of public business, which

required his presence in Paris : then, that he was not in a fit condition to appear before her, having only come to Calais in his travelling attire, &c. &c. But the secret reason was the affection which he had for his consort, Mary de Medicis, and by whom he was also tenderly beloved, who would have suffered the greatest uneasiness had she known that the king had gone to sea. In addition to this, we are assured by an historian, (Gregorio Leti,) that this great prince, so courageous upon land, was extremely fearful of the sea. The eagerness, also, manifested by Elizabeth for this interview, made him suspect some hidden design. The king was not alone in these surmises (*conjectures*), for as soon as the foreign courts had intelligence of this invitation, the politicians said that there was no doubt but that Elizabeth intended playing Henry some trick, and that knowing that Francis I. had been blamed for not retaining Charles a prisoner, she would have profited by this fault, and have kept Henry IV. prisoner until he had given up Calais to her.

In the year 1610, as Henry was preparing to set out upon his expedition for the purpose of supporting the claims of the Elector of Brandenburg and the Duke of Neubourg, against the house of Austria, he was assassinated in the very centre of his capital. A detestable fanatic named Ravallac, availing himself of the moment when the king's carriage was stopped by some carts, stabbed him in the midst of seven courtiers, who were seated with him. This wretch had been taught by the Roman Catholic priests to believe that he would perform an action highly meritorious in the eye of God, by murdering a hero, whose only crime in the opinion of these bigots was, that of being about to march to the assistance of Protestants. The murderer did not attempt to escape, and only appeared much surprised that his action should be looked upon as a crime, and himself held in execration. Thus perished, at 57 years of age, a king truly worthy of immortality, one of the greatest and best who have ever been seated on the throne of France ; and with him perished all the plans which he had formed for the welfare of his people ; the hand of an infuriated bigot destroyed in one moment all the hopes of a nation. This is said to have been the fiftieth conspiracy formed against Henry.

READING XXXVII.

PORTRAIT OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

OF the many portraits drawn of our "Maiden Queen" none gives a more striking representation of her real deportment, and the manner of her court, than the following extract from the travels of Hentzner, who resided some time in this country as tutor to a young German nobleman.

After some preliminary (*introductory*) remarks, he observes, "We arrived next at the royal palace of Greenwich, reported to have been built by Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and to have received very magnificent additions from Henry VII. It was here Elizabeth, the present queen, was born, and here she generally resides, particularly in summer, for the delightfulness of its situation. We were admitted, by an order Mr. Rogers had procured from the lord chamberlain, into the presence chamber, hung with rich tapestry, and the floor, after the English fashion, strewn with rushes, through which the queen commonly passes in her way to the chapel. At the door stood a gentleman dressed in velvet, with a gold chain, whose office was to introduce to the queen any persons of distinction that came to wait on her: it was Sunday, when there is usually the greatest attendance of nobility. In the same hall were the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, a great number of councillors of state, officers of the crown, and gentlemen, who waited the queen's coming out, which she did from her own apartments when it was time to go to prayer, attended in the following manner.

"First went gentlemen, barons, earls, knights of the garter, all richly dressed and bare headed; next came the chancellor, bearing the seals in a red silk purse, between two; one of whom carried the royal sceptre, the other, the sword of state, in a red scabbard, studded with golden fleurs-de-lis, the point upwards; next came the queen, in her sixty-fifth year, as we were told, very majestic; her face oblong, fair, but wrinkled; her eyes small, but black and pleasant; her nose a little hooked; her lips narrow, and her teeth black (a defect the English

seem subject to from their immoderate use of sugar) ; she had in her ears two pearls, with very rich drops ; she wore false hair, and that red ; upon her head a small crown of gold ; her bosom was uncovered, as all the English ladies have it till they are married, and she had on a necklace of exceeding fine jewels : her hands were small, her fingers long, and her stature neither small nor low ; her air was [stately, her manner of speaking mild and obliging.

“On that day she was dressed in white silk, bordered with pearls of the size of beans, and over it a mantle of black silk shot with silver thread ; her train was very long, the end of it borne by a marchioness : instead of a chain, she had an oblong collar of gold jewels. As she went along in all this state and magnificence, she spoke very graciously, first to one, then to another, whether foreign ministers or those who attended for different reasons, in English, French, and Italian, for, besides being well skilled in Greek, and the languages mentioned, she is mistress of Spanish, Scotch, and Dutch ; whoever speaks to her, it is kneeling ; now and then she raises some with her hand ; while we were there, W. Slanata, a Bohemian baron, had letters to present to her, and she, after pulling off her glove, gave him her right hand to kiss, sparkling with rings and jewels, a mark of particular favour. Wherever she turned her face, as she was going along, everybody fell down on their knees. The ladies of the court followed next to her, very handsome and well shaped, and for the most part dressed in white. She was guarded on each side by the gentlemen pensioners, fifty in number, with gilt battle-axes. In the ante-chapel, next the hall, where we were, petitions were presented to her, and she received them most graciously, which occasioned the acclamation of “Long live Queen Elizabeth !” she answered it with “I thank you, my good people.” In the chapel was excellent music : as soon as it and the service were over, which scarce exceeded half an hour, the queen returned in the same state and order, and prepared to go to dinner. But while she was still at prayer, we saw her table set out with the following solemnity ;—a gentleman entered the room bearing a rod, and along with him another, who had a table cloth, which, after they had both kneeled three times, with the utmost vene-

ration, he spread upon the table ; and, after kneeling again, they both retired. Then came two others, one with the rod again, the other with a salt-cellar and a plate of bread ; when they had knecled as the others had done, and placed what was brought on the table, they too retired with the same ceremonies as were performed by the first. At last, came an unmarried lady (we were told she was a countess), and along with her a married one, bearing a tasting knife ; the former was dressed in white silk, who, when she had prostrated herself three times, in the most graceful manner, approached the table, and rubbed the plates with bread and salt, with as much awe as if the queen had been present. When they had waited there a little while, the yeomen of the guard entered, bare-headed, clothed in scarlet, with a golden rose upon their backs, bringing in at each turn a course of twenty-four dishes, served in plate, most of it gilt. These dishes were received by a gentleman in the same order they were brought, and placed upon the table, while the lady taster gave to each of the guard a mouthful to eat of the particular dish he had brought in, for fear of poison. During the time that this guard, which consists of the tallest and stoutest men that can be found in England, being carefully selected for that purpose, were bringing dinner twelve trumpets and two kettle drums made the hall ring for half an hour together. At the end of this ceremonial, a number of unmarried ladies appeared, who, with particular solemnity, lifted the meat off the table, and conveyed it into the queen's inner and more private chamber, where, after she had chosen for herself, the rest goes to the ladies of the court.

“The queen dines and sups alone, with very few attendants, and it is very seldom that anybody, foreigner or native, is admitted at that time ; and then only at the intercession of somebody in power.

“This queen passionately admires handsome persons ; and he is already far advanced in her favour, who approaches her with beauty and grace. She has such an unconquerable aversion for men who have been treated unfortunately by nature, that she cannot endure their presence. When she issues forth from her palace, her guards are careful to disperse from before her eyes hideous and deformed persons, the lame, the hunch-backed, &c. ; in a

word, all those whose appearance might shock her fastidious (*over-nice*) sensations.

Elizabeth, who displayed so many heroic accomplishments, had the foible (*weakness*) of wishing to be thought beautiful by all the world. Du Maurier, in his memoirs, states, that he was informed by his father, who was envoy at her court, that at every audience he had with her majesty, she pulled off her gloves more than a hundred times, to display her hands, which, indeed, were very beautiful and very white.

The education of Elizabeth had been severely classical ; she thought and wrote in all the spirit of the great characters of antiquity ; and her speeches and letters are studded (*thickly interspersed*) with apophthegms (*valuable maxims*) and a terseness (*accuracy*) of ideas and language that gives an exalted idea of her mind. In her evasive answers to the commons in reply to their petition to her majesty to marry, she has employed an energetic word. "Were I," said she, "to tell you that I did not mean to marry, I might say less than I intend ; and were I to tell you that I do mean to marry, I might say more than it is proper for you to know ; therefore I give you an answer—answerless."

READING XXXVIII.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

COMMENCING our observations upon the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, by a glance at the then political state of Europe, we find that there were few absolute sovereigns, the emperors before Charles V. having never ventured to aim at despotic power. The popes, though greater masters of Rome than formerly, had much less power in the church ; the crowns of Hungary and Bohemia, like the other kingdoms in the north, were elective ; and an election necessarily supposes a contract between prince and people. The kings of England could neither make laws nor break them, without the consent of their parliament. Isabella of Castile had acknowledged the rights of the Cortes, which were all the estates of the kingdom assem-

bled as a legislative body, Ferdinand, the Catholic, of Arragon, had not been able to abolish the authority of the grand-justiciary of that kingdom, who looked upon himself as entitled to be the judge of kings. France alone was changed into a state purely monarchical, after the reign of Louis XI.

The civil government of Europe was greatly improved by the stop which had everywhere been put to the private wars between the feudal lords. The custom of duels, however, was still continued.

The popes, by their decrees, had anathematized these combats ; but they were still permitted by several of the bishops ; and the parliaments (*courts of justice*) of Paris sometimes ordered them, as in the case of the famous one between Legris and Carronges, in the reign of Charles V. The same evil practice was likewise kept up in Germany, Italy, and Spain, with the sanction of certain forms, which were looked upon as essential ; particularly that of confessing and taking the sacraments before they prepared for murder. The chevalier de Bayard invariably heard a mass before he went into the field to fight a duel. The combatants always chose a second, whose office it was to take care that their weapons were equal, and to make diligent search that neither of them had any spells about him ; for nothing on earth was so credulous as a knight.

Tournaments, though condemned likewise by the popes, were practised everywhere. They always went by the name of *Ludi Gallici*, or the French games ; because one Geoffroi de Prenilly had, in the eleventh century, published a body of rules to be observed in them, and although upwards of one hundred knights had been killed in these games, this only served to make them more in vogue.

It was thought that the death of Henry II., who was killed at a tournament held in 1599, would have abolished this custom for ever ; but the idle lives of the great, long use, and the passions, revived these games at Orleans, in less than a year after the tragical death of Henry, when Henry Bourbon, duke of Montpensier, and a prince of the blood, lost his life likewise by a fall from his horse. After this, an entire stop was put to tournaments ; but a faint image of them remained in the *Pas d'Armes*, held by Charles IX. and Henry III., the year after the mas-

sacre of St. Bartholomew ; for in these sanguinary times feasts and diversions were always intermixed with murders and proscriptions. This *Pas d'Armes* was not attended with any danger, as the combatants did not engage with sharp weapons.

The suppression of tournaments may therefore be dated from the year 1560, and with these games expired the ancient spirit of chivalry, which never appeared again but in romances.

The art of war, the law of arms, and the offensive and defensive weapons made use of in those days, were likewise entirely different from what they are at present.

The emperor Maximilian had introduced the arms made use of by the Macedonian phalanx, which were spears of eighteen feet in length, and were used by the Swiss in the wars of Milan ; but they were soon laid aside for the two-handed sword.

The arquebuse or firelock, was become a necessary weapon against the steel corselets, by which the troops of those days were defended. No helmet or cuirass was proof against these. The gendarmerie, which was called the battalion, fought on foot as well as on horseback.

The German and Spanish infantry were reputed the best. The war-cry was, almost every where, discontinued.

As to the governments of states, at this time, cardinals will be found at the head of the administration in almost every kingdom. In Spain, cardinal Ximenes ruled under Isabella of Castile, during her life time, and after her death, was appointed regent of the kingdom. In France, cardinal d'Amboise was prime minister to Louis XII., and cardinal Duprat to Francis I. Our own Henry VIII. was for the space of twenty years entirely under the direction of cardinal Wolsey. Charles V. appointed his preceptor cardinal Adrian, afterwards pope, his prime minister in Spain, while cardinal Granville had afterwards the government of Flanders. Lastly, cardinal Martinusius was master of Hungary, under Ferdinand, brother to Charles V.

The title of majesty began now to be assumed by kings, and the ranks of the several sovereigns were settled at Rome. The first place was, without contradiction, assigned to the emperor ; after him came the king of France

without a competitor ; the kings of Castile, Arragon, Portugal, and Sicily took rank in turn with the king of England ; then came Scotland, Hungary, Navarre, Cyprus, Bohemia, and Poland ; and, last of all, Denmark and Sweden. Great disputes arose afterwards, from this settling of the precedence. The kings, almost to a man, wanted to be equal in rank with each other ; but not one of them attempted to dispute the chief place with the emperors, who thus preserved their rank while they lost their authority.

All the customs in civil life were different from ours ; the doublet and short cloak were the common dress in all courts. The gentlemen of the law every where wore a long and loose robe, which fell halfway down their legs.

In the time of Francis I. there were but two coaches in the city of Paris ; one for the queen, and the other for Diana of Poitiers. The men and women all rode on horseback. The first coach which appeared in Spain was that which carried the emperor Charles V. It was, however, considered so effeminate a practice, as to incur the censure of the pulpit. Father Ramon, in his "Reformation of Abuses," thus expresses his indignation at this novelty:—"But men with beards !—Men girt with the sword !—It is a disgrace and a shame for *them* to be seen carried about in boxes, instead of breathing the open air, and appearing in the light of day."

Riches were now so much increased, that Henry VIII. of England, in 1519, promised three hundred and thirty-three thousand gold crowns in dowry with his daughter Mary, who was to be married to the son of Francis I. This was a larger sum than had ever yet been given by any one.

The interview between Francis I. and Henry VIII. was for a long time famous for its magnificence and splendour. Their camp was called the *camp of the cloth of gold* ; but this momentary parade, this stretch of luxury, did not imply that general magnificence, nor those useful conveniences, which are so common in our times, and which so far exceed the pomp of a single day. The hand of industry had not then changed their sorry wooden dwellings into sumptuous palaces ; the thatched roofs and the mud walls still remained in the streets of Paris. The houses in London were still worse built, and the manner

of living there still coarser. The greatest noblemen, when they went into the country, carried their wives behind them on horseback ; princesses themselves travelled in no other manner, being covered with a riding cloak of waxed cloth in rainy weather, which dress they wore even when they went to the palace. Queen Elizabeth frequently appeared in public, riding on a pillion behind her chancellor. Indeed, the magnificence of Francis I., Charles V., Henry VIII., and Leo X., were only for days of public solemnity.

In the reign of Henry II. of France, none but bishops were permitted to wear silk, and although about that time, mulberry trees were cultivated in Italy and Spain only, and gold wire was manufactured exclusively at Milan and Venice, yet the French fashions had insinuated themselves into the courts of Germany, England, and Lombardy.

Pope Julius II. was the first who let his beard grow, in order to inspire the people with a greater respect for his person. Francis I., Charles V., and all the other kings followed this example, which was immediately adopted by their courtiers. Philip II. of Spain, in 1597, commanded that the counsellors of all the royal councils should wear the beard long, so as to cover the whole chin. By this same edict, military and clerical personages were commanded to shave all but the mustachios. The most common of all Spanish oaths, was—*by my mustachios*. Don Joam de Castro, viceroy in India for king John III. of Portugal, went still further, for he put his mustachios in pawn. Being desirous of raising a sum of money among the citizens of Goa, for an expedition intended to raise the siege of Diu, he cut off one of his mustachios, and deposited it in the town house, by way of security for the payment of the loan. He received the sum he required, and honourably redeemed his mustachio on his return.

Engraving upon copper-plate, which was invented at Florence in the fifteenth century, was an art entirely new, and at that time in its perfection. The Germans had the reputation of having invented printing, nearly about the time when engraving was known. The assertion of some writers that Faust was condemned by the parliament of Paris to be burnt for a magician is erro-

neous. The fact is that some agents who came to Paris to sell the first books that were printed, were accused of dealing in the black art, but this accusation was not followed up. The parliament in 1474, ordered all the books which had been brought to Paris by one of the factors from Mentz to be seized ; and Louis XI. was obliged to forbid the parliament from meddling with the affair, and to pay the proprietors the price of their books. The diamond was first employed for writing upon glass, by Francis I. of France, on the window of the castle of Chambord, near Blois, in order to insinuate to the duchess d'Estampes that he was jealous.

READING XXXIX.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.—
CONTINUED.

THE species of farming which had gained ground in England since the reformation, and which, by turning arable (*fit for the plough*) land into pasture, had deprived many labourers of bread, caused great commotions amongst the peasants, who had likewise another and juster cause of complaint. The vile policy of Henry VIII. and Edward VI.'s reigns had so far debased the coin, that when the husbandman carried his wages to market, it would not purchase necessities for his family. The tumults which such oppression occasioned only added wounds and punishments to penury and discontent. Gradually, however, the eyes of the landholders were opened ; books of husbandry were printed and studied ; and a system of farming was introduced which was equally beneficial to landlord and tenant. The land of England was certainly, at this time, both cheap and productive. In this and all other cases we may believe the good Hugh Latimer ; and he, in a sermon, tells us wonders concerning the produce of a small farm. "My father," says he, "was a yeoman, and had no land of his own ; only he had a farm of three or four pounds by the year at the utmost ; and hereupon he tilled so much as kept half a dozen men. He had a walk for a hundred sheep ; and

my mother milked thirty kine (*cows*). He kept his son at school till he went to the university, and maintained him there ; he married his daughters with five pounds or twenty nobles a-piece ; he kept hospitality with his neighbours, and some alms he gave to the poor ; and all this he did out of the same farm."

The vast addition which the general stock of aliment (*food*) gained by the discovery of potatoes in the sixteenth century, is too important to be passed over without notice. Captain Hawkins is said to have brought this excellent root from Santa Fé in New Spain, A.D. 1565. Sir Walter Raleigh soon after planted it on his lands in Ireland ; but, on eating the apple that it produced, which is nauseous (*unpalatable*) and unwholesome, he had nearly consigned (*given up*) the whole crop to destruction. Luckily, the spade discovered the real potato, and the root soon became a favourite eatable. It continued, however, to be thought rather a species of dainty than of provision ; nor till the close of the eighteenth century was it supposed capable of guarding the country where it was fostered from the attacks of famine.

The woollen manufacture proceeded steadily on without any other aid than now and then an act of parliament to regulate the length, breadth, weight, &c. of the pieces. Such a one passed in 1552 (Stat. 5 and 6 Edw. VI. cap. 6), and was supposed to have been so precisely worded as to prevent the necessity of future ordinances. But it was not so ; and a very few years proved the necessity of still further restrictions ; for with every clause a new species of fraud found means to gain admittance.

Still the clothing trade of England increased with the industry of the natives, and although it is a fact that in 1551, no less than sixty ships sailed from Southampton laden with unmanufactured wool for the use of the Flemish looms, yet when proper restrictions were laid on such ruinous exportation, princely fortunes were gained by the makers of cloth and woollen drapers ; and immense charities to the poor, as well as magnificent dwellings for themselves and their families, were proofs of their opulence. In 1582, when the trade with the Hanse Towns was put on a footing advantageous to England, it was proved before the Diet (*assembly of states*) of Germany

that 400,000 cloths were annually exported from England to the Continent.

Cattle were not plentiful in England at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign. In 1563, it was enacted that no one should eat flesh on Wednesdays and Fridays, on forfeiture of three pounds, unless in case of sickness, or of a special license, neither of which was to extend to beef or veal.

With respect to horticulture, Hakluyt, in his "Patriotic Instructions to the Turkey Company's Agents," gives a circumstantial account of the introduction of many plants into England. The Damask rose, he gives to Dr. Linacre, the musk rose, and many kinds of plums, are owed, he writes, to Lord Cromwell; the apricot to a French gardener of Henry VIII. Various flowers, among which he specifies the tulip, had lately come from the east by way of Vienna; the tamarisk had been brought from Germany by archbishop Grindal. The currant bush he mentions as lately brought from Zante, and, although, says he, it bring not its fruit to perfection, yet it may serve for pleasure, and for some use. Down to the reign of Elizabeth, the greater part of the houses in large towns had no chimneys; the fire was kindled against the wall, and the smoke found its way out as well as it could, by the roofs, the doors, or the window. The houses were mostly built of wattling (*hurdles, twigs, &c.*) plastered over with clay, the floors were of earth, strewed, in families of distinction, with rushes; and the beds were only straw pallets, with a log of wood for a pillow. A mixed kind of building was adopted, towards the close of the sixteenth century, by those who erected palaces. Perhaps the magnificent house of Elizabeth's celebrated secretary, Cecil, may be named as the finest specimen of the sort.

There existed now no difficulty in raising men for the military service. The pay and clothing allowed to recruits was such as might well tempt them to enlist, when the cheapness of living is considered. Every private man had three shillings paid to him weekly, without any deduction; besides which, twenty pence per week was laid out for him "in good apparell of different kinds, some for the summer and some for the wynter." The captain of each hundred men had twenty-eight shillings paid him every Saturday, the lieutenant fourteen, and the ensign seven.

The serjeant, the surgeon, the drum, and the fife, five shillings weekly. On sudden occasions, where speed was necessary, force was sometimes used ; as when the Spaniards had taken Calais, an immediate demand of 1,000 men was made by the queen, of the lord mayor of London, and they were produced, almost, in an instant, by the simple manœuvre of shutting up the doors of St. Paul's during divine service.

The most numerous force which Elizabeth ever mustered by land was in the autumn of 1588. They amounted to about 76,000 foot, and 3,000 horse, besides garrisons.

The first foundry for cannon in England had been formed in 1535, by one Owen ; in 1547, Pierre Bandit, a foreigner, erected another near the metropolis.

The first lottery in England took place during the reign of queen Elizabeth ; it was held at the west door of St. Paul's cathedral, and the drawing continued from 11th January till 6th May, 1569. It consisted, indeed, of no less than 400,000 tickets, and was, in consequence, nearly two years in filling. The original printed scheme is in the possession of the Antiquarian Society, and is as follows—"A proposal for a very rich lottery general, *without any blanks*, containyng a great number of good prizes, as well as of redy money, as of plate and certain sorts of merchandizes, having been valued and prised by the commandment of the queen's most excellent majestie's order, to the intent that such commodities as may chance to arise thereof, after the charges borne, may be converted towards the reparations of the havens and strength of the realme, and towards such other good works. The number of lotts shall be foure h. t., and no more ; and every lott shall be the sum of tenne shillings sterling and no more. To be filled by the feast of St. Bartholemew. The shew of prizes are to be seen in Cheapside, at the sign of the Queen's Arms, the house of Mr. Dericke, goldsmith, servant to the queen, 1567."

The first example of a newspaper in England, occurred in a publication established by queen Elizabeth, at a moment of great difficulty and danger, in order to communicate such intelligence as she considered necessary. Three printed numbers of this are preserved in the British Museum, the earliest, No. 50, dated July 23, 1588. It is entitled, "The English Mercurie, published by autho-

rite, for the contradiction of false reports, and is said, at the end, to be imprinted by Christopher Barker, her highness's printer."

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST

OF

INVENTIONS, DISCOVERIES, &c.

During the Sixteenth Century.

- 1516.—Corpus Christi College at Oxford, founded by Bishop Winton.
- 1517.—Commencement of the African Slave Trade.
- 1519.—Magellan's first Voyage round the World.
- 1520.—Muskets first employed in the reign of Francis I.
- Cabbages first brought into England from Flanders.
- 1524.—Soap manufactured in London, but invented by Germans.
- 1525.—Hops brought into England from the Netherlands, but prohibited by order of parliament, in consequence of being represented by physicians as unwholesome.
- 1528.—Chocolate brought into Europe by the Spaniards, from Mexico.
- 1530.—Currant trees first planted in England.
- Thermometer invented by Sanctorious: it was brought into England in 1640, and improved by Fahrenheit, in 1714.
- 1540.—Padlocks first manufactured at Nuremberg.
- 1543.—Silk stockings from Spain. The first silk stockings worn in Europe by Henry II. of France. Henry VIII. wore cloth stockings.
- 1559.—English East India Company established.
- 1563.—Knives first made in London by Thomas Matthews, of Fleet-street.
- 1564.—First stockings knit in England from woollen yarn.
- 1565.—Tobacco introduced into England by Sir John Hawkins, though generally attributed to Sir Walter Raleigh, in 1578. It came into common use in 1631.
- 1569.—Book-keeping by double entry.
- 1586.—Potatoes introduced into England from America by Sir Francis Drake.
- 1588.—First Newspaper printed in England—Diving bell first used by the English to raise the treasures supposed to have been sunk in that part of the Spanish Armada wrecked on the Western Coast of Scotland. It was invented and exhibited before Charles V. at Toledo in 1508.
- 1589.—Silk stockings first wove in England.
- 1597.—Watches first brought from Germany into England.

Table of Contemporary Sovereigns in the Seventeenth Century, commencing from the Accession of James I. in 1603, and ending at the death of William III. in 1702.

A.D.	GT. BRITAIN.	FRANCE.	HOLLAND.	GERMANY.	ROME.	SPAIN.	PORTUGAL.	TURKEY.	RUSSIA.	DENMARK.	SWEDEN.	PRUSSIA.
1603	James I.	Henry IV.	Maurice Barnevelt.	Rodolph II.	Clement VIII.	Philip III.		Mahomet III.	Boris Godunow.	Christian IV.	Sigismund.	
1604								Achmet I.			Charles IX.	
1605					Leo XI.				The Imposter Dmitri.			
1606					Paul V.				Wassilej Schuiszkoi.			
1610		Louis XIII.							Interregnum.			
1611									Another Imposter Dimitri.		Gustavus Adolphus.	
1612				Matthias.					Anarchy Michael Fedrowitsch.			
1613												
1617								Mustapha, deposed.				
1619				Ferdinand II.				Osman I.				
1621					Gregory XIII.	Philip IV.						
1622								Mustapha re-established.				
1623					Urban VIII.			Amurath IV.				
1625	Charles I.		Henry Frederick Tromp.								Christina.	
1632												
1637				Ferd. III.								
1640							John IV.	Ibrahim.				
1643		Louis XIV.										
1644					Innocent X.							
1645									Alexis.			
1647			William II.									
1648								Mahomet IV.		Frederic III.		
1649	Interregnum.											
1653	Oliver Cromwell. (Protector)											
1654											Charles X.	
1655					Alexand. VI.		Alphonso IV.					
1656												
1658				Leopold I.		Charles II.					Charles XI.	
1660	Charles II.											
1665												
1667					Clement IX.							
1670					Clement X.					Christian V.		
1672			William III. afterwards king of England.									
1676					Innocent XI.							
1682							Peter II.					
1683	James II.											
1685								Soliman III.				
1687									Peter the Great.			
1689	Mary and William III.				Alex. VIII.							
1690								Achmet II.				
1691					Innocent XII.							
1694	William III.											
1697											Charles XII.	
1699								Mustapha II.		Frederick IV.		
1700					Clement XIII.	Philip V.	Philip V.					Frederick I.

READING XL.

GENERAL VIEW OF EUROPE AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF
THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

WITH the exception of Henry IV. who still occupied the throne of France, the monarchs, who, at the commencement of this century, swayed the sceptres of Europe, cannot but suffer from a comparison with those who ruled at the beginning of the sixteenth.

If we look at our own country, James I. of England and VI. of Scotland, who succeeded to queen Elizabeth, was of a character but little suited to the eventful period in which he ascended the British throne, and still less to the peculiar and trying circumstances in which England was placed at his accession. As to his personal appearance, he inherited none of those graces either of form or feature for which both his unfortunate parents had been so conspicuous; while weakness, approaching to cowardice, disgusting familiarity, and ridiculous pedantry, counterbalanced the few good mental qualities of which he could boast, and rendered him alike incapable of gaining the attachment, or commanding the respect, of his subjects. This deficiency, as well of high moral worth, as of superior talents, proved the more unfortunate for James, by the parallel which his people did not fail to draw between him and the powerfully minded Elizabeth.

The capacity of James and his ministers in negotiation was immediately put to trial, on the appearance of ambassadors from almost all the princes and states of Europe, in order to congratulate him on his accession, and to form with him new treaties and alliances. Besides ministers from Venice, Denmark, and the Palatinate, Henry Frederick of Nassau, assisted by Barnevelt, the pensionary (*prime minister*) of Holland, was ambassador from the States of the United Provinces. Aremberg was sent by archduke Albert; and Taxis was shortly expected from Spain. But he who most excited the attention of the public, both on account of his own merit, and that of his master, was the marquis of Rosni, afterwards duke of Sully, prime minister and favourite of Henry IV. of France.

The principal object of this nobleman's mission was to engage James to enter into a treaty for the purpose of aiding the Dutch States in their opposition to Spain; and in this he completely succeeded, for, although a peace was, in the next year, concluded between Philip II. and James, the latter reserved to himself, by a secret article, the power of affording assistance to the United Provinces.

Conscious that the republic of Holland had become powerful, and the people rich, in spite of every effort to enslave and oppress them, the court of Madrid had changed its measures before the death of Philip. After much deliberation, that haughty monarch, despairing of being able to reduce the revolted provinces by force, and desirous of an accommodation, that he might end his days in peace, but disdaining to make in his own name the concessions necessary for that purpose, transferred (*gave over*) to his daughter Isabella, contracted (*engaged in marriage*) to the archduke Albert, the sovereignty of the Low Countries.

Philip II. died before the celebration of the marriage; but his son Philip III., a virtuous though a weak prince, punctually executed the contract; and Albert, after taking possession of the sovereignty, wrote to the States of the United Provinces, entreating them not to refuse submission to their natural princes. To this letter no answer was returned, and, in consequence, the war was recommenced with fresh vigour: but Spain was no longer as powerful as it had been under the energetic (*vigorous*) administration of its two preceding sovereigns; it was now only formidable from the recollection of its former greatness.

France still continued under the paternal sway of her best of kings, Henry IV., who was now occupied in rebuilding the churches and public edifices, improving his navy, correcting abuses of every description, redeeming the crown jewels, but more especially in making preparations for the execution of his grand design of humbling the House of Austria. This enterprise was undertaken by way of retaliating (*giving like for like*) upon the court of Spain, for the continued attempts, both open and secret, made by that power to disturb the peace of his kingdom, and shake the stability (*firmness*) of his throne.

In the year 1603 Venice became involved (*engaged*) in a serious contest with the pope, Paul V., a prelate who, actuated (*moved*) by the most ambitious spirit, was desirous of reviving, by every means in his power, all the extravagant claims of his predecessors to universal supremacy (*power*). Two decrees which had recently been promulgated (*published*) by the senate, forbidding any new church endowments to be made, or any ecclesiastical edifices to be erected without the consent of the government, called forth all the indignation of his holiness—indignation which was shortly converted (*turned*) into fury, upon the senate's ordering one of the canons of Vicenza, and the abbot of Nervesa, who had been guilty of some delinquencies (*crimes*), to be imprisoned. Paul, considering these measures as an invasion of the rights of the church, expedited (*sent*) a brief (*ecclesiastical mandate*) to the doge (*chief magistrate of Venice*) Marino Grimani, threatening their state with excommunication (*casting out from the church*) and interdict (*prohibition to the clergy to celebrate the holy offices*) if they did not immediately repeal (*revoke*) this decree, and deliver up the prisoners to the nuncio (*envoy from the pope*) Mattei. The doge Grimani dying the same day that the brief was delivered, was succeeded by Leonardo Donato, who, with the senate, resolved to support the measures which had been taken, and upon the pope issuing a monitory (*notice*) declaring the state under an excommunication, the senate commanded the clergy to perform divine service as usual, under pain of death. After recalling their ambassador from Rome, the Venetians proceeded to expel the jesuits from their territory ; but a reconciliation was at length effected through the instrumentality of cardinal Joyeux, deputed that for purpose by Henry IV.

READING XII.

GENERAL VIEW OF EUROPE AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.—CONCLUDED.

GERMANY was at this time, under the sway (*government*) of Rodolph II., who had succeeded his father,

Maximilian II., in 1576. He was a prince of a pacific disposition, and although more occupied about celestial than terrestrial affairs, being devoted to the study of astronomy and astrology, in both which sciences he was instructed by the celebrated Tycho Brahe, the empire during his reign enjoyed an extraordinary degree of tranquillity, the equity (*justice*) of his administration compensating (*making up*) for its weakness. The chief difficulties which he met with proceeded from his brother Matthias. The Turks having invaded Hungary, Matthias was successful in opposing their progress; and a peace was concluded in 1606 with Achmet, the successor of Mohammed II. The Hungarians, jealous of their religious rights, conferred (*bestowed*) their crown upon Matthias, their deliverer, who granted them full liberty of conscience (*religious liberty*) with every other privilege which they could desire. He afterwards became master of Austria and Moravia on the same conditions: and Rodolph, to avoid the horrors of civil war, confirmed to him those usurpations, with the succession to the kingdom of Bohemia, where the Lutheran opinions had taken deep root.

In proportion as the reformed religion gained ground in Hungary and Bohemia, the Protestant princes of the empire became desirous of securing and extending their privileges; and their demands being refused, they in 1609 entered into a new confederacy, called the Evangelical Union. This association was opposed by another, formed to protect the ancient faith, under the name of the Catholic League.

The attention both of Portugal and Spain was, about this time, much occupied with the appearance of a person at Venice, who gave himself out to be the identical (*same*) Don Sebastian of Portugal, who suffered the fatal defeat at Alcaçarquivir in 1578, and who was reported to have been there killed. He affirmed that he had saved his life and liberty by hiding himself among the slain; that after wandering in disguise for some time in Africa, he returned with two of his friends into the kingdom of Algarve. This person underwent twenty-eight examinations before a committee of noble and impartial individuals, in which he entered into so minute (*particular*) a detail of the transactions that had passed between him.

and the republic of Venice, that the commissioners were perfectly astonished, and showed no disposition to declare him an impostor. He was at length delivered up to the Spaniards, and being shipped on board a galley, was carried to San Lucar, whence he was transferred (*conveyed*) to a castle in the heart of Seville, and was heard of no more.

In the north of Europe, Sigismund, son of John III. of Sweden, had, in 1587, been elected by one party, king of Poland, while another chose Maximilian, brother of Rodolphus II. The victory declared in favour of the former, who would no doubt have remained firmly seated on the throne to which he had thus been elected, but for the vacancy which occurred in that of Sweden. The intrigues (*underhand plots*) of his uncle, duke Charles, who aspired to the crown of his nephew, proved at last successful, and Sigismund was deposed about the commencement of the seventeenth century.

Sigismund strenuously (*powerfully*) exerted himself for the recovery of the Swedish crown; but his attempts were frustrated (*rendered vain*) by the vigour and policy of his uncle. He retook, however, those towns and fortresses which the Swedes had reduced (*conquered*) in Livonia, where also an obstinate battle occurred (*took place*), in which the valour of the Poles, directed by the skill and judgment of Chotkiewitz, gratified Sigismund with a complete victory. He then directed his attention towards Russia, which was in a state of disorder and confusion.

The grand duke or czar, John Basilowitz II., dying in 1584, left only two sons, of whom one was an infant. The incapacity (*want of ability*) of Theodore, the elder of the surviving princes, had induced John to select three of his boyars (*noblemen*) for the administration of the public affairs in the name of the youth; but Boris, brother-in-law to the new czar, gradually seized the whole power of the state, and acted in many instances with inhuman violence. He even murdered Dmitri, the brother of Theodore, and perhaps hastened the death of the czar himself, who died in 1598. Boris took this opportunity of mounting the throne, to which he had paved (*prepared*) his way by some popular acts. He continued to govern with a mixture of vigour and lenity

(*mildness*) ; and his name was not unknown among the sovereigns of Europe, when his government was disturbed by the boldness of an ambitious monk, who, happening to resemble the unfortunate Dmitri, pretended that he had escaped the snares of the usurper, by the substitution (*placing in the room of another*) of another youth. The adventurer was encouraged by Sigismund, who promised to assist him in procuring the Russian diadem ; and being furnished with an army, he defeated the troops of Boris, who, in a moment of despair, poisoned himself, or, as others say, was thrown by a transport of passion into an apoplectic fit. The usurper's son was now placed on the throne, but was quickly driven from it by the impostor in 1605, who was proclaimed czar with the general consent of the people, many of whom believed him to be the true Dmitri. He was killed in a tumult at Moscow in 1606.

Turning our view towards the east, we find that in 1595, a Dutch merchant of the name of Cornelius Houtman, who had resided a considerable time at Lisbon, having proceeded to the Cape of Good Hope, and there acquired the necessary information for prosecuting his voyage still further eastward, encouraged the merchants of Amsterdam to establish a settlement in the island of Java. Admiral Van Neck, who was sent on that important expedition with eight ships, having succeeded in obtaining the desired permission to trade, sent home four vessels laden with spices and other Indian commodities. The success of the expedition gave rise to the formation of the Dutch East India Company in 1602.

The English East India Company was established as early as the year 1600, and with a fair prospect of success. A fleet consisting of five stout ships was fitted out the year following, under the command of John Lancaster, who was favourably received by the king of Achen, and other Indian princes, with whom he concluded a commercial treaty.

But our countrymen had to struggle with many serious obstacles from the power and intrigues of the Dutch and Portuguese : they, however, ultimately (*at last*), succeeded in not only establishing factories (*mercantile establishments*), but in erecting fortifications in the islands of Java, Poleron, Amboyna, and Banda.

READING XLII.

JAMES I.—THE GOWRIE CONSPIRACY.

1600.

ALTHOUGH the extraordinary circumstance which will form the subject of the present reading occurred to James previously to his ascending the British throne, yet the want of room for introducing it in its proper place, (the reign of Elizabeth,) and the high and romantic interest attached to it, may sufficiently excuse its introduction among the events of James's reign.

During the summer of the year 1600, Scotland enjoyed an unusual tranquillity. The clergy, after many struggles, were brought under great subjection ; the popish earls were restored to their estates and honours by the authority of parliament and with the consent of the church ; the rest of the nobles were at peace among themselves, and obedient to the royal authority ; when, in the midst of this security, the king's (James VI. afterwards James I. of England) life was exposed to the utmost danger, by a conspiracy altogether unexpected, and almost inexplicable. The authors of it were John Ruthven, earl of Gowrie, and his brother Alexander, the sons of the earl who was beheaded by order of James in 1584. Nature had adorned both these young men, especially the elder brother, with many accomplishments, to which education had added its most elegant improvements. More learned than is usual among persons of their rank ; more religious than is common at their age of life ; generous, brave, popular ; their countrymen, far from thinking them capable of any atrocious crime, conceived the most sanguine hopes of their early virtues. Notwithstanding all these noble qualities, some unknown motive engaged them in a conspiracy, which, if we adhere to the account commonly received, must be transmitted to posterity as one of the most wicked, as well as one of the worst concerted, of which history makes any mention.

On the fifth of August 1600, as the king, who resided during the hunting season in his palace of Falkland, was

going out to his sport early in the morning, he was accosted by Mr. Alexander Ruthven, who, with an air of great importance, told the king, that the evening before he had met an unknown man, of a suspicious aspect, walking alone in a by-path near his brother's house at Perth; and on searching him, had found under his cloak a pot filled with a vast quantity of foreign gold; that he immediately seized both him and his treasure, and, without communicating the matter to any person, had kept him confined and bound in a solitary house, and that he thought it his duty to impart (*discover*) such a singular event first of all to his majesty. James immediately suspected this unknown person to be a trafficking priest, supplied with foreign coin in order to excite new commotions in the kingdom; and resolved to empower the magistrates of Perth to call the person before them, and inquire into all the circumstances of the story. Ruthven violently opposed this resolution, and with many arguments urged the king to ride directly to Perth, and to examine the matter with his own eyes. Meanwhile the chase began, and James, notwithstanding his passion for that amusement, could not help ruminating (*reflecting*) upon the strangeness of the tale and Ruthven's importunity (*earnestness*). At last he called him, and promised him, when the sport was over, to set out for Perth. The chase, however, continued long, and Ruthven, who all the while kept close by the king, was still calling on him to make haste. At the death of the buck, he would not allow James to stay till a fresh horse was brought him; and observing the duke of Lennox and the earl of Mar preparing to accompany the king, he entreated him to countermand them. This James refused, and though Ruthven's impatience and anxiety, as well as the apparent perturbation (*discomposure*) in his whole behaviour, raised some suspicions in his mind, yet his own curiosity, and Ruthven's solicitations, prevailed on him to set out for Perth. When within a mile of the town, Ruthven rode forward to inform his brother of the king's arrival, though he had already despatched two messengers for that purpose. At a little distance from the town, the earl, attended by several of the citizens, met the king, who had only twenty persons in his train. No preparations were made for the king's entertainment; the earl

appeared pensive and embarrassed, and was at no pains to atone (*make-up*), by his courtesy or hospitality, for the bad fare with which he treated his guests. When the king's repast was over, his attendants were led to dine in another room, and he being left almost alone, Ruthven whispered him, that now was the time to go to the chamber where the unknown person was kept. James commanded him to bring Sir Thomas Erskine along with them ; but instead of that, Ruthven ordered him not to follow ; and conducting the king up a staircase and then through several apartments, the doors of which he locked behind him, led him at last into a small study, in which there stood a man clad in armour, with a sword and dagger by his side. The king, who expected to have found one disarmed and bound, started at the sight, and inquired if this was the person ; but Ruthven, snatching the dagger from the girdle of the man in armour, and holding it to the king's breast, "Remember," said he, "how unjustly my father suffered by your command ; you are now my prisoner ; submit to my disposal without resistance or outcry, or this dagger shall instantly avenge his blood !" James expostulated with Ruthven, entreated and flattered him. The man whom he found in the study stood, all the while, trembling and dismayed, without courage either to aid the king or to second his aggressor. Ruthven protested, that if the king raised no outcry his life should be safe ; and, moved by some unknown reason, retired in order to call his brother, leaving to the man in armour the care of the king, whom he bound by oath not to make any noise during his absence.

While the king was in this dangerous situation, his attendants growing impatient to know whither he had retired, one of Gowrie's attendants entered the room hastily, and told them that the king had just rode away towards Falkland. All of them rushed out into the street ; and the earl, in the utmost hurry, called for their horses. But by this time his brother had returned to the king, and swearing that now there was no remedy, he must die, offered to bind his hands.

Unarmed as James was, he scorned to submit to this quietly : and closing with the assassin, a fierce struggle ensued. The man in armour stood, as formerly, amazed

and motionless ; and the king dragging Ruthven towards a window, which, during his absence, he had persuaded the person with whom he was left to open, cried, with a wild and affrighted voice, " Treason ! treason ! Help ! I am murdered ! " His attendants heard, and knew the voice, and saw at the window a hand which grasped the king's neck with violence. They flew with precipitation to his assistance. Lennox, Mar, and the greater number, ran up the principal staircase, where they found all the doors shut, which they battered with fury.

But Sir John Ramsay, entering by a back stair, which led to the apartment where the king was, found the door open, and rushing upon Ruthven, who was still struggling with the king, struck him twice with his dagger, and thrust him towards the staircase, where Sir Thomas Erskine and Sir Hugh Harries met and killed him ; he crying with his last breath, " Alas, I am not to blame for this action ! " During this scuffle, the man who had been concealed in the study escaped unobserved. Together with Ramsay, Erskine, and Harries, one Wilson, a footman, entered the room where the king was, and before they had time to shut the door, Gowrie rushed in with a drawn sword in each hand, followed by seven of his attendants well armed, and with a loud voice threatened them all with instant death. They immediately thrust the king into the little study, and shutting the door upon him, encountered the earl. Notwithstanding the inequality of numbers, Sir John Ramsay pierced Gowrie through the heart, and he fell dead without uttering a word ; his followers having received several wounds, immediately fled. Three of the king's defenders were likewise hurt in the conflict. A dreadful noise continued still at the opposite door, where many persons laboured in vain to force a passage ; and the king being assured that they were Lennox, Mar, and his other friends, it was opened on the inside. They ran to the king, whom they unexpectedly found safe, with transports of congratulation ; and he, falling on his knees, with all his attendants around him, offered solemn thanks to God for such a wonderful deliverance. On searching the earl's pockets for papers that might discover his designs and accomplices, nothing was found but a small parchment bag, full of magical characters and words of enchantment ; and if

we may believe the account of the conspiracy published by the king "while these were about him, the wound of which he died bled not; but as soon as they were taken away, the blood gushed out in great abundance." After all the dangerous adventures of this busy day, the king returned in the evening to Falkland, having committed the dead bodies of the two brothers to the custody of the magistrates of Perth.

Diligent search was made for the person concealed in the study, and from him great discoveries were expected. But Andrew Henderson, the earl's steward, who upon a promise of pardon confessed himself to be the man, was as much a stranger to his master's design as the rest of his followers; and though placed in the study by Gowrie's command, he did not even know for what end that station had been assigned (*given*) him.

In the absence of all certainty as to the motives which induced the Gowries to enter into this conspiracy, it appears most probable to have been a plot contrived by queen Elizabeth, one great object of whose policy was to keep the king of Scots in continual dependence, either by kindness, flattery, the corrupting of his ministers, or, when these arts failed, by acting upon his fearful and timid disposition.

READING XLIII.

THE HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN IMPOSTOR, DMITRI.

1605.

THE first acquaintance of the Russians with the English took place during the reign of the czar Ivan, in 1553. Some Englishmen who had sailed on a voyage of discovery, landed in Russia at the place which is at present the port of Archangel. Ivan was soon captivated by their abilities and their deportment, and they acquired his favour to such a degree that he encouraged the English commerce by all possible means, and thus opened a new channel of intercourse between his subjects and a highly polished people.

Ivan was unfortunately of a very irritable temper, and

in one of his fits of passion, even struck his eldest son so violent a blow on the head, with a staff, as to occasion his death. * Two sons now only remained to him, the elder of whom was infirm both in body and mind, and the younger still in his infancy.

Ivan, knowing too well the incapacity of his elder son Feodor, when dying, committed the government to three of the chief men of the empire, and to a fourth he gave in charge the education of his younger son, Dmitri. Shortly after the czar's death, a certain Boris Godunof, whose sister was married to the imbecile (*weak*) Feodor, formed the plan of profiting by the weakness of the monarch, the jealousies of the nobles, and the discontent of the people, for getting the government in his own hands, under cover of Feodor's name. Every thing succeeded to his wish, but one important step was to be taken ere he could reach the wished-for elevation, and this was the removal of Dmitri, Ivan's younger son. To enable himself with greater facility to effect his black design, and to conceal it from the knowledge of Feodor, he first sent off the prince with his mother to a distant country town, where he caused him to be murdered shortly after, in 1591, as he was playing with his female attendant in the courtyard of the house where he was kept, and then spread a report that he died of a fever, with which account also Feodor was well satisfied. The mother was put into a convent, and Boris was tolerably certain that nobody would dare to speak openly the truth, though many were thoroughly acquainted with the real state of the transaction. The perpetrator of the murder, that he might never bear witness against him, was put to death by the orders of him who had instigated (*impelled*) him to the horrid deed. Whether Boris, after Dmitri's death, despatched likewise Feodor by poison, or whether the latter made room for him by a natural death, is uncertain; but, however this may be, Boris, on the death of Feodor, succeeded in getting himself to be elected sovereign.

Though it must be owned that Boris had obtained supreme power by the most culpable and wicked means, yet after he was seated on the throne, he performed so many services to the empire, was so provident for its prosperity and welfare, that it is a matter of regret, whilst

conducting himself as a laudible ruler, he was not also the legitimate prince : but all the precautions he had hitherto been taking for maintaining himself were unavailing ; as, in 1601, a person unexpectedly made his entrance on the scene of affairs, pretending to be the prince Dmitri, who was generally thought to have been murdered by order of Boris ; that this order, however, was not accomplished, but that another lad was put to death in his stead, and that he was preserved in a wonderful manner.

A monk, who heard in his convent that he greatly resembled the young prince Dmitri, had the effrontery (*impudence*) to take this personage upon him, by giving it out that he was that prince ; and played his part with so much success, that had he been but more cautious and discreet in the use of it, he might have worn in peace and quietness the crown of the czars of Russia for the rest of his life. This monk, Otrepief by name, retired from Russia into Poland, where he had the dexterity to gain the interest of some of the principal persons, to whom he entrusted it as a secret, that he was prince Dmitri, the son of Ivan, and therefore lawful successor to the throne of Russia. In order still more to ensure to himself the support of the Poles, he learned the Polish language ; testified also a great inclination towards the Catholic religion, whereby he gained the attachment of the Poles as well as Catholics, and made the Roman pontiff his friend, whose patronage and blessing, on his great undertaking, he particularly obtained, by promising that, as soon as he should have placed himself on the Russian throne, he would make every exertion to force back the Russians into the pale of the Catholic church. The vaivode (*prince*) of Sendomir in Poland, was so captivated by this young man, who, to the outward graces of a fine person, added the charms of an irresistible eloquence, that he promised to give him his daughter Marina to wife, whenever he should be czar of Russia ; and Marina, a beautiful and ambitious girl, readily consented to her father's choice. By means of this respectable vaivode, who was neither in want of money nor fine speeches, that his future son-in-law might acquire friends among the Poles, even the king of Poland, Sigismund II. was won over to the party of Dmitri. The Cossacks of

the Don, whom Boris was endeavouring to reduce, declared, without hesitation, in his favour. The news of prince Dmitri being still alive, soon found its way into Russia. Boris, who well knew that this pretended prince was an adventurer, yet dreaded that the disaffected might make use of the man to work his downfall, employed every effort to get him into custody, or at least to put a stop to his enterprise at the very outset. He prohibited all intercourse between the Russians and the Poles, sent out assassins in quest of the pretended Dmitri, with orders to kill him ; the patriarch (*chief priest*) issued an excommunication against all who should presume to give credit to this man ; Boris appealed, moreover, to the testimony of the mother of the murdered prince Dmitri, that he was really dead, and wrote to the king of Poland, requesting him not to countenance so detestable an impostor as this Dmitri was. But all these measures failed of the desired effect, as the false Dmitri now caused to be dispersed throughout Russia a manifesto (*declaration*), wherein he affirmed himself to be Ivan's son, and that therefore the Russian throne belonged of right to him ; which declaration procured him many adherents (*followers*). The courtiers, who were envious of the elevation of Boris, were delighted with this appearance ; while those who knew for certain that Boris had caused Dmitri to be murdered, regarded this event as a judgment from heaven ; but the greater part of the nation actually believed this Dmitri to be the true one ; and since God had preserved him by a miracle, they piously resolved to concur with the hand of providence in assisting him to recover the throne.

READING XLIV.

HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN IMPOSTOR, DMITRI.—
CONCLUDED.

Thus, ere Dmitri appeared personally in Russia, a very numerous party was secretly formed in his behalf. He presently made his appearance on the frontiers (in 1604), attended by a regiment of Polish troops and a body of Cossacks. Boris sent an army to meet him.

Though these greatly exceeded the forces of Dmitri in numbers, yet the fortune of the day was often in favour of the latter, animated by the personal bravery, the intrepidity, and eloquence of their commander, who at length remained master of the field. This victory gained over the superior army of the czar, greatly augmented the number of those who believed that Dmitri was favoured of heaven, and therefore assuredly could be no impostor. To strengthen this opinion, as a conqueror he treated the prisoners with familiarity and kindness ; the dead of the hostile army he caused to be decently interred, and ordered his troops to behave with humanity in the places he captured ; whereas, on the other side, the Russian soldiers committed horrible excesses in the districts where the inhabitants had shown any predilection (*partiality*) for Dmitri. It is likewise highly propable that some of the generals of the czar's troops were not heartily (*sincerely*) attached to Boris, and might at least wish for a revolution in the government, by having another czar on the throne, though they did not really believe the legitimacy (*lawfulness*) of Dmitri's pretensions (*claims*). All these concurrent (*happening at the same time*) circumstances increased on the one hand the adherents of Dmitri, and on the other were the occasion that the czar's measures for defeating this man, who was striving for his throne and his life, had not the wished for effect. Unluckily for the czar, just at this time strong coruscations (*flashes*) in the heavens, and, what was more, a comet appeared in the sky ; phenomena (*uncommon appearances*) which the Russians, extremely superstitious and totally ignorant of natural causes, immediately regarded as manifest demonstrations (*proofs*) that God was supporting the cause of Dmitri. Boris, to whom Sweden had already proffered her aid, but which he had rejected in a moment of despair and weakness, poisoned himself in 1605. On his death, though some of the principal nobility at Moscow made choice of his son as czar, yet, seeing now that the major part of the army had already declared for Dmitri, so likewise the generality of the people espoused (*embraced*) his cause. Dmitri sent another manifesto (*proclamation*) to the people of Moscow, assuring them again of his lawful claim to the throne, and exhorting them to be true to him ; thereby producing

so great an effect, that the new czar, Feodor, the son of Boris, was dethroned and put in prison, with his mother and sister ; which done, his successful antagonist (*enemy*) shortly after made a magnificent entry into Moscow, attended by a great number of Poles.

Having now, therefore, attained (*reached*) his aim, and placed himself on the throne of the czars, he might probably have been able to maintain his seat, had he possessed, with his other good qualities, a greater degree of prudence ; but in this he was deficient (*wanting*). He fancied that as he had succeeded in the chief concern, all subordinate (*inferior*) matters could be carried through at pleasure, and thus he himself smoothed the way which his enemies had taken in order to his overthrow (*ruin*). His predilection for the Polish nation was such that he had not only brought with him several thousand Poles to Moscow, held much more intercourse (*communication*) with the principal Poles than with the Russians, and conferred upon them high posts and dignities, but that he even connived (*winked*) at the extravagances of all kinds of which they were guilty, as their contempt of the Russians, their ridiculing the rites and customs of the country, and the insults they offered to the Russian women; his partiality (*preference*) every where apparent for the Catholic religion ; his indifference towards the public worship of the Greek church, and his want of reverence for the clergy ; his marrying a Polish lady ; the frequent reproaches that he made to the boyars (*nobles*) and other great men that he had been under the necessity of forcing them to acknowledge him ; were all so manifest and shocking, that in various places discontents arose, and the joy with which he had seemed to be received at first, was not only turned into indifference, but into hatred and contempt. Dmitri had, indeed, drawn over to his side even the widow of the deceased Ivan, so as that she owned him for her son, though that acknowledgment by no means rendered the belief in his legitimacy general. His adversaries asserted that his foreign manners were a sufficient proof that he could not be sprung from the blood of the Russian czars. But the aversion (*dislike*) to him rose to its height upon his marriage with Marina. That she was not a native Russian, therefore not of the Greek religion ; that a great armed retinue had

attended her from Poland to Moscow ; that at the marriage ceremony the Poles were preferred to the Russians, and the latter, in general, treated contemptuously ; excited in the people murmurs and detestation against the czar. But when, in addition to this, the report was spread that Dmitri had constructed the timber fort before Moscow, only for the purpose of giving his bride a martial spectacle, on which occasion the Poles and his body-guard, consisting of foreigners, were to throw firebrands and to commit a dreadful slaughter among the spectators, in order to fix him more surely on the throne, and to make away with a great number of people, their hatred to him grew even to fury, and the wish to get rid of him was openly expressed. Schuiskoy, a prince whom Dmitri had injured, took advantage of this opportunity, put himself at the head of an enraged populace (*mob*), still further incensed by the clergy, who declaimed (*preached*) loudly against the czar as a heretic, and led them on to storm the imperial palace. A dreadful slaughter ensued, not only among the Poles who were present, but on all that could be found in the purlieus (*neighbourhood*) of Moscow, where such as escaped with their lives were thrown into prison. Dmitri himself ran off, but being overtaken by his pursuers, was thrust through with a spear ; and his body, being brought back, lay three days before the palace, exposed to every insult and outrage that wanton malice could invent or rage inflict. The father-in-law and the consort (*wife*) of Dmitri, with a number of other Poles, were exempted from the general havoc among their countrymen, but were detained in custody.

READING XLV.

FIRST ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ENGLISH IN THE
EAST INDIES.

1610.

THE successful voyages to the East Indies of Drake, Stephens, Cavendish, and others, induced several of the principal merchants of London to form a company in

1600. They obtained an exclusive privilege to trade with India, for the space of fifteen years, with the proviso (*condition*,) that if this privilege should be found prejudicial to the state, it should be abolished, and the company broken up, two years' previous notice of such intention being given to the partners.

The funds of this company were, at first, but very inconsiderable. The equipment of four vessels, which set sail in the beginning of the year 1601, absorbed a great portion, and the remainder was expended in merchandize of various kinds, &c. &c.

John Lancaster, who conducted the expedition, arrived the following year at the port of Achen, then a very celebrated mart. The intelligence of the recent naval victories of England (over the Armada) had prepared for that officer the most flattering reception. The king treated him, in every respect, as his equal, and as a great proof of his condescension, ordered his wives, richly dressed, to play before him, upon their musical instruments. This mark of favour was followed by every facility being afforded him for the establishment of a sure and advantageous commerce. The English admiral was afterwards equally well received at Bontam; and a vessel which he had despatched to the Moluccas, returned heavily laden with cloves and nutmegs. With these valuable spices, and the peppers which he had procured at Java and Sumatra, he arrived safely in Europe.

The company, which had entrusted its interests to this able man, were determined by this first success to form establishments in the Peninsula of India, but only with the consent of the natives. They were averse from commencing conquests, and resolved that their expeditions should be those of humane and upright merchants only. They thus made themselves beloved, it is true, but this attachment did not put them into a situation to compete (*rival*) with the former settlers, who made themselves feared.

The Portuguese and the Dutch possessed extensive provinces, places well fortified, and good ports—advantages which secured their trade, not only against the natives but against all interlopers (*intruders*), facilitated their returns to Europe, afforded them the means of getting rid of the goods they carried into Asia, and of obtaining,

upon advantageous terms, such as they wished to purchase. The English, on the contrary, dependent upon the uncertainty of the seasons, and the caprice of the people, without power, or even a place of refuge, and entirely relying upon England for pecuniary resources, were totally incapacitated, according to the then received opinions, from prosecuting an advantageous commerce. It was thought that great riches were only to be acquired by great crimes, and that to surpass or even rival their competitors, it was necessary to imitate their example.

Amid such difficulties, the establishment of a permanent (*lasting*) and profitable commerce appeared almost chimerical (*fanciful*); but the company flattered itself that it would be protected, because it was useful. Its hopes were delusive ones. It could obtain nothing from James I., a weak and pedantic monarch, better calculated for the rector of a university than the sovereign of a mighty empire. The assistance denied it by its sovereign was, however, amply compensated for by the activity, perseverance, and discretion of the company. They built forts, and founded colonies in the islands of Java, Pouleron, Amboyna, and Banda, and thus shared with the Dutch the rich spice trade, which will ever be the most permanent one of the East, since it is founded upon the real wants of mankind.

The Dutch, however, had not expelled the Portuguese from the spice islands, for the purpose of allowing the establishment of another nation there, whose great maritime power, character, and government, rendered the rivalry still more formidable. They possessed numberless advantages over their competitors—powerful colonies, a well-disciplined navy, well-cemented alliances, the knowledge of the country, and a perfect acquaintance with the theory as well as practice of commerce, all of which the English were deficient in.

After several fierce combats, of which the Indian Ocean was the theatre, the two companies signed, in 1619, a treaty, by which it was agreed that the Moluccas, Amboyna, and Banda, should belong in common to the two nations; that the English should have one-third, and the Dutch two-thirds of the produce, the price of which should be fixed; that each party should contribute, in proportion to their interest, to the defence of these

islands ; that a council, composed of persons belonging to each nation, duly qualified, should regulate, at Batavia, all affairs connected with commerce ; that this treaty, guaranteed by the respective sovereigns, should remain in force twenty years ; and that if, in the interim (*mean time*), any disputes should arise which could not be settled by the two companies, they should be decided by the king of Great Britain, and the states-general of the United Provinces.

The English, in the meantime, had not been idle in another part of the Indian Peninsula. They had formed stores and magazines at Masulipatam, Calicut, in several other ports, and even at Delhi. Surat, the richest mart of those countries, tempted their ambition in 1611. The natives were well disposed to receive them, but the Portuguese threatened, if they permitted establishments to be made by that nation, they would burn all the towns along the coast, and seize every Indian vessel. This menace had the desired effect for a time.

The following year, however, captain Thomas Best arrived with a force better calculated to command respect, and was received at Surat without the least difficulty. The commercial agents whom he had brought with him had scarcely commenced their operations, when a powerful armament made its appearance, having sailed from Goa. The English admiral determined, notwithstanding his inferiority in numbers, to try the fortune of war. Twice he attacked the Portuguese, and twice he was victorious. But, notwithstanding the advantages which the vanquished derived from their position, harbours, and fortresses, always rendered the navigation of the English in the Guzurat very difficult, and it was only by continued combats with a bold enemy whom defeat did not discourage, that some degree of tranquillity was at length secured.

READING XLVI.

ASSASSINATION OF HENRY THE FOURTH, BY RAVAILLAC.
1610.

IN a former reading was given a short account of the murder of this good and illustrious prince. It is a subject, however, of so much interest, as justifies being treated at greater length. During the winter and in the spring of 1610, Henry actively employed himself in putting the finishing hand to all his preparations for the campaign. The army he raised amounted to forty thousand men, commanded by officers of great experience, exclusive of six thousand Swiss, who were sent to join them on the frontiers, and four thousand of the nobility, who were to attend the king to the army, which was to assemble at Chalons about the middle of May. The negotiations requisite for the general league were conducted with so much silence, that the first circumstance of them that transpired to the public was their conclusion. Monsieur de Lesdiguières was chosen to treat with his old antagonist the duke of Savoy, and upon his proposing the conquest of the duchy of Milan, upon condition that France should enjoy Savoy, the duke made no difficulty of entering into the king's views. The princes of Germany held an assembly in spite of the emperor, in which they approved the king's proposal of restoring the liberty of the empire. In England his minister met with no less success; and the Italian princes showed a strong inclination to accept the offers that were made them, to concur in his design.

As the season of action drew nearer, the king spent a great part of his time in conferences with the duke of Sully at the arsenal, where all was digested (*considered*) that regarded this great expedition, or the settlement of the administration in the king's absence: but with these there was intermixed another affair that gave the king infinite concern and embarrassment. This was the earnest desire of the queen to be solemnly crowned. Whence this desire arose, cannot, with any certainty, be determined ;

it is, however, well known, that nothing equalled the king's disquiet, more especially after he had given his orders in consequence of the queen's importunity, when the day was fixed. It is certain that Henry was more distressed and disordered with the thoughts of this coronation, than with any thing that had happened to him through his whole life. He went so far as to presage that he should not survive it, that he should never live to get out of Paris, where he thought himself less safe than at the head of his army; and yet he could not bring himself to countermand the orders he had given, or resolve not to take a share in that idle pomp, of which he had such a dread. The duke de Sully mentions as a fact, that the king expressly declared to him, he had been forewarned that he should be killed in some public ceremony in a coach, and that it was this circumstance that made him abhor the thoughts of this hated coronation; this was the reason of his starting and being so much alarmed even at the slightest jolting of the coach, though he had the greatest steadiness and presence of mind in the midst of the most imminent dangers.

On the 12th May, through the importunity (*earnest entreaty*) of the queen, proclamation was made that next day, which was Thursday, the queen would be publicly crowned at St. Denis; the ceremony was accordingly performed by cardinal Joyeux, with all possible order and magnificence; the queen appearing extremely gay and well pleased. The Sunday following was fixed for her public entry into Paris, for which vast preparations were made, and many triumphal arches erected, with all those circumstances of parade, which Henry always despised, and in which the queen delighted. Next morning, which was Friday, the 14th, the king was observed to pray longer than usual; when he came out of his closet, he sent to the duke of Sully, to desire he would come and speak with him in the gardens of the Tuileries, but being informed that the duke was ill, and that the person he had sent had found him in the bath, he sent him another message to come to him next morning, but in his nightgown and cap, that he might not catch cold. He conferred (*consulted*) in the morning with Villeroy, Nerestan, and d'Escoures, who had been sent to reconnoitre (*examine*) the passes into the duchy of Juliers, and who assured him

that they were much better than they had been represented; which intelligence the king seemed to receive with great satisfaction. He went next to hear mass at the Feuillans (*a church in Paris*), followed by Ravaillac, who confessed his intention to have stabbed him there, but said he was hindered by the duke de Vendome. After dinner, the king conversed with the president Jeanin, and Monsieur Arnaud, controller of the finances, about the reformatations he intended to make after the war was over, the reduction of the officers employed in the revenue, and the suppressing such taxes as were most burdensome to the people. After they left him, he grew extremely uneasy, went to a window, and leaning his head upon his arm, was heard to say in an under tone, "My God, what is this within me, that will not suffer me to be quiet?" About four o'clock he ordered his coach, in which having seated himself, he placed the duke d'Espernon next him, on the right hand, at the boot on that side sat Messieurs de Ravardin and Roquelar, opposite to them sat the duke de Montbazon and the marquis de la Force, Monsieur de Liancourt and the marquis de Mirabeau sat forwards. The coachman asking whither he was to go, the king answered, "Drive me from hence." Ravaillac followed the coach, intending to have struck him between the two gates, but was hindered by finding the duke d'Espernon where the king used to sit.

When the coach was without the court of the king's palace, Henry cried, "Drive me to the cross of Tiroy." When it arrived at that place, he said, "To St. Innocents' churchyard;" turning into the Rue de la Ferronière, which was then a very narrow street, by reason of the shops built against the wall of St. Innocents' churchyard, there was a stop occasioned by two carts, one loaded with wine, the other with hay. The king had before sent away his guards, and ordered the coach to be opened, that he might see the preparations for the queen's entry, intending afterwards to have driven to the arsenal, to discourse with the duke of Sully on the intelligence he had received from d'Escoures. The pages who followed the coach went round by the churchyard, except. two, one who went before to clear the way, and the other stopped behind to garter up his stockings. Ravaillac took this opportunity, mounted on the wheel, and, with a long

knife, which cut with both sides, struck the king over the duke d'Espèrnon's shoulder, while that monarch was listening to a letter the duke was reading. The king, as most writers affirm, said, "I am wounded;" upon which the assassin struck him again with greater force, so that the knife, penetrating into the chest, divided one of the principal arteries, and immediately deprived him of life. Some say that he made a third stroke, and that one of the lords caught it on his arm, but this is liable to great doubt. They were, on the contrary, so little acquainted with how the thing was done, that they did not so much as see the murderer; so that, if he had thrown the knife under the coach, he might have passed on; but he stood on the wheel like a statue, with the knife bloody in his hand; till a gentleman who followed the coach, came up and seized him, and was going to put him to death, when the duke d'Espèrnon prevented him, crying out, "Save him, on your life." He then directed that the coach windows should be drawn up, and ordered the coachman to drive back to the Louvre, giving out that the king was wounded, but not dangerously.

As soon as the coach came to the palace, the king was carried into his cabinet, and laid upon a bed, where, if we may believe the French historian Mezeray, he was quickly left by the great, so that those who had a mind to see him, met with no interruption, only Monsieur le Grand Bassompierre and the duke de Guise, instead of going to pay their court, went to weep over their dead master, the duke de Guise embracing him passionately. When his body was opened, it appeared that he had two wounds, one slight, the other mortal, but there is some doubt which was the first or second. All the surgeons and physicians gave it as their opinion, from the soundness of the vital parts, that the king might have lived many years. His entrails were immediately sent to St. Denis, and buried without ceremony; his heart was delivered to the Jesuits, and deposited, according to his desire, in their college at la Flèche, which he had founded, and his body, after being embalmed, was interred with great pomp, at St. Denis, on the 29th June, amid the deepest sorrow of the people, and the universal regrets of those foreign nations who wished well to the liberties of Europe and the Protestant interest.

READING XLVII.

EXPULSION OF THE MOORS FROM SPAIN.

1610.

NOTWITHSTANDING the example of the bad effects of persecution which Philip III. of Spain had before him, in the expulsion of the Flemish Protestants by his father, he was either too blinded by bigotry, or too ignorant of sound policy, to profit by it.

Although the final expulsion of the Moors from Spain took place in 1610, the persecutions which they underwent at an earlier period form so interesting a subject in the history of Spain, that a detail of the leading circumstances will not fail to amuse and instruct the reader.

It is well known that when the city of Granada was taken by king Ferdinand of Aragon, and queen Isabella of Castile, in the year 1492, the Moorish government in Spain, which had lasted seven hundred years, terminated ; and yet the Moors did not immediately leave the country. The body of the people, not only of the kingdom of Granada, but also of Valencia, though conquered by the Christians in 1236, and of Murcia, conquered by them in 1265, belonged to that race ; and besides these, others were dispersed in great numbers over Castile, Estramadura, Aragon, Catalonia, &c. All these Moors maintained their separation from the Spaniards, by an obstinate adherence, not only to the language, habits, and customs of their ancestors, but to their religion likewise, which was the Mahometan ; few or none of them, in a long series of years, having been converted to the Christian faith, by all the efforts of the Spanish friars for that purpose. The Spanish princes, apprised of the danger that was likely to result from the connexion which, in all probability, existed between the Moors of Barbary and those of their own country, so nearly situated with respect to each other, made every attempt to dissolve their natural attachment, cemented (*united*) by similarity of religious profession ; and with this view they employed the ecclesiastics in vigorous measures for converting them to Christianity.

The friars, failing in their endeavours for accomplishing the object entrusted to them, represented the Moors as an obstinate and hardened race of people, who were not to be convinced by arguments, nor by any other means, unaccompanied by violence. They accordingly advised the princes either to banish the Moors or to make them all slaves, if they refused to become Christians; or, at least, to take all their children from them, and baptize them, so that the next generation might become Christians. The council of Toledo, however, expressly prohibited (*forbade*) the compulsion of infidels (*unbelievers*) to be baptized; and Thomas Aquinas and most of their other divines declared it to be unlawful to baptize the children of infidels without the consent of their parents; and, consequently, the means recommended by the friars were not adopted; more especially as the Moors, when they possessed the dominion of the country, had never forced any of their Christian subjects to change their religion, and king Ferdinand, upon the surrender of Granada, had engaged himself, by oath, if the Moriscoes wished to remain in Spain, not to molest (*annoy*) them on account of their religion. The Jews, however, not having been protected by any such engagement, were ordered, by a royal edict (*decree*) within three months after the capture of Granada, if they would not be baptized, to depart with their families, in the course of four months, on pain of death; upon which many of them removed, and those who remained, after the expiration of the stipulated term, were stripped by the king of all their property, and sold to his subjects for slaves. It is said, that above 800,000 men, women, and children, were driven out of Spain at this time. As to the Moors, it was found that, in the year 1499, few of those inhabiting Granada had been converted to Christianity; and therefore Ximenes, archbishop of Toledo, was charged to adopt some course for converting the Moors to the Christian faith. The archbishop, determined to succeed in every measure which he undertook, began by mild treatment to engage in his interest the chief men among the Moors; some of these became converts, but others were found alike invincible by bribes and promises. The prelate changed his plan and had recourse to severe methods of conversion, ordering the irreclaimable to be loaded

with chains, thrown into dungeons, and treated as the most notorious malefactors (*criminals*). Irritated by this cruel treatment the Moors took up arms; but their insurrection being suppressed, 50,000 of them, inhabitants of the city of Granada, purchased their lives by consenting to be baptized; and the archbishop so far triumphed in his success, as, on his departure, not to have left one professed Mahometan in the city. The Moors of the country were alarmed, and fortified themselves among the mountains, resolving to die Mahometans with swords in their hands, rather than submit to be baptized by compulsion, as their countrymen had been in the city; but though many of them, with their wives and children, were put to the sword, others collected together in a formidable body, which called forth the interposition of the king in person, who, being joined by a powerful host, very rapidly reduced all the Moorish towns that were in arms; obliging all the inhabitants to purchase their lives by consenting to be baptized. The Moors that were still in arms among the fastnesses of the mountains petitioned the king to allow them to transport themselves to Barbary, offering to pay ten dollars *per* head for every one that embarked; the king's want of money permitted those who could pay their ransom to depart, and those who were under the necessity of remaining were compelled to be baptized. In a few months, above 200,000 men, women, and children, were converted by the king and the archbishop of Toledo from the Mahometan to the Christian profession, though it is said that scarcely one in that large number was a sincere convert. The Inquisition, regarding these forced baptisms as good and valid, exercised its usual cruelties on those Moors who were convicted of having afterwards returned to Mahometanism. Not fewer than 100,000, living and dead, had been condemned for apostasy (*the falling off from one's religion*) by the Inquisition of Seville in less than forty years; of which number 400 were burned, and 30,000 were reconciled, the rest having made their escape into Barbary. During the remaining part of the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, and the whole reign of Charles V., we hear little more of the Granada Moriscoes, than that they universally continued to be Mahometans, and manifested an extraordinary aversion to Christianity, which aversion was increased by the fiery zeal of the Inquisition. Thus

the friars went on preaching, and the inquisitors went on burning the Moriscoes, until the year 1568, when Philip II. by advice of his council and ecclesiastics, published certain laws, which were framed with a view of extinguishing in the Moriscoes the memory of their being descended of the Moors; the remembrance of which was thought to contribute not a little to their obstinacy in the matter of religion. These laws were as follows :—

1. That it should not be lawful for any person in the kingdom of Granada to wear the Moorish habit.
2. That it should not be lawful for any person in the kingdom of Granada to observe any Moorish customs.
3. That it should not be lawful for any one in that kingdom to speak Arabic, or to teach that language to their children.

The rigorous execution of these laws induced the Moriscoes to seek relief from the grand seignior and the Moors in Barbary, who sent eight hundred Turks, with a great quantity of arms and ammunition, into the kingdom of Granada, who were joined by the Moors from all parts, taking up arms and renouncing the profession of the Christian religion. Against these the king ordered his troops to march; but in the course of eighteen months, he was able neither to conquer them nor to starve them among the mountains. At length, however, they were totally subdued, and compelled to leave the kingdom of Granada. From this time they were dispersed over the kingdom of Castile, and some other inland provinces, in which they and their posterity continued until the time of their general expulsion in the year 1610. Notwithstanding all the diligence and cruelties which were used to reconcile these Moriscoes to Christianity, they and their posterity still continued as much Mahometans in their hearts as ever they had been.

This was also the case with regard to the Moriscoes of the kingdoms of Valencia and Aragon, who continued professed Mahometans for three hundred years after they were conquered by the Christians. The Spanish historians are not agreed as to the number of the Moriscoes that were driven from Spain in 1610. Some say they were a million, others that they were 900,000, but the greater number of writers concur in asserting that there were 600,000 men, women, and children, besides those

that were slain or detained. The expulsion of them was a blow which Spain has not, to this day, recovered. Soon after that disastrous event, the bad effects of it began to be felt, so much so that the duke of Lerma, the chief adviser of the measure, was exiled from court and deprived of all his offices ; his chief confidant and counsellor, don Rodrigo Calderon, was committed to prison, and afterwards put to death. Philip III. himself, who died soon after, is said to have had his conscience, when on his death-bed, overwhelmed with horrors, at the recollection of having, in violation of all the laws of religion and humanity, plunged more than 100,000 families into distress and misery.

READING XLVIII.

JOURNEY OF PRINCE CHARLES, AFTERWARDS

CHARLES I., TO MADRID.

1623.

WITH a view of restoring the Palatinate, James I. was anxious to marry his son Charles to the infanta (*princess*) of Spain, not doubting but that through the powerful assistance of the Spanish monarch he should succeed in his wish. The prince, on the other hand, at the recommendation of the duke of Buckingham, was anxious to throw an air of romance over his courtship by making his personal suit to the princess, and at length, after much difficulty, both he and the duke obtained James's consent to their journey.

The prince and Buckingham, attended by Sir Francis Cottington, Endymion Porter, and Sir Richard Graham, accordingly set off. They passed disguised and undiscovered through France, and even ventured into a court ball at Paris, where Charles saw the princess Henrietta, whom he afterwards espoused, and who was at that time in the bloom of youth and beauty. In eleven days after their departure from London, they arrived in Madrid.

Philip IV. was at this time seated upon the Spanish throne, and the infanta was his sister. This princess,

who, from religious scruples, being determined rather to take the veil (*to become a nun*) than to marry a heretic, had resolved never to become the wife of Charles, insisted upon the duke of Olivarez, then prime minister, breaking off the match. For this purpose that nobleman had drawn up a paper in which he endeavoured to persuade his majesty of the ineligibility (*inconvenience*) of the intended match, and it was only a few days after he had laid this document before his majesty, that the chief subject of it arrived in the capital of Castile.

Great was the surprise of the earl of Bristol, the English ambassador at Madrid, at seeing the son of his sovereign suddenly alight at his hotel. The cause of his visit, however, that of seeing the princess whom he was to espouse, being a very natural one, the surprise which it at first occasioned quickly wore off.

At the first news of the prince's arrival, all the English who were in Madrid hastened to pay their court to him, and afterwards accompanied the earl of Bristol to the prime minister's, in order to inform him of the circumstance. The ambassador found the duke of Olivarez seated at his table, and the latter, smiling, said to him as he entered the room, "To what unforeseen occurrence am I indebted for your lordship's visit at so unusual an hour?" From the air of satisfaction which appears upon your countenance, one would suppose that the king your master had just arrived at Madrid." "I know not," replied the ambassador, "if the king of England be in your capital, but of this I am certain, that the prince his son has this moment alighted at my hotel, of which circumstance I am come to inform your grace." The duke was thunderstruck at the intelligence, foreseeing what difficulty it opposed to the breaking off of the marriage.

No sooner had the ambassador left the apartment, than Olivarez hastened to the palace to communicate the intelligence to the monarch, who was not less surprised than himself; but after a few moments' reflection, judging that the prince's journey could have no other object than to remove all the obstacles which delayed his marriage, Philip knelt down before a crucifix which stood by his bedside, and prayed aloud thus: "O my God, I swear by the mysterious union of the divine and human natures of

my Saviour, who was sacrificed for me, and whom I adore, that the arrival of the prince of Wales shall not only never induce me to do aught to the prejudice of the Catholic religion, but that even should I lose all the kingdoms which I hold of his divine goodness, I will never consent that my sister shall become his consort until he abjure his errors." Then turning to his prime minister, he ordered him to spare nothing in order to entertain, with due magnificence, so great a prince, during the whole time he should remain at his court.

The duke of Olivarez having returned home, wrote out with his own hand the same night, the regulations to be followed touching the honours and ceremonial to be observed towards the prince of Wales, naming the noblemen who were to accompany him, and the officers who were to wait upon him.

In consequence of this regulation he himself went the next morning to visit the duke of Buckingham, and after having paid him many compliments, he took him in his coach, and conducted him to an audience of the king, by whom he was received and treated with all the marks of esteem and attachment which that nobleman could desire.

The same evening he went in great state and magnificence to visit the prince of Wales, in the name of his majesty, and to congratulate him on his arrival. The following day the king, accompanied by all his court, repaired to the earl of Bristol's, and notified his wish to see the prince, who sent the duke of Buckingham to his majesty, to entreat that he would be pleased to dispense with doing him that honour in public, as he wished to preserve his incognito, in order to live with less restraint in Madrid ; but that if his majesty were pleased he would see him elsewhere than at the ambassador of the king his father ; this was immediately arranged, and the interview took place in a house adjoining that of the earl of Bristol.

Philip, by the most studious civilities, showed the respect which he bore to his royal guest. He presented him with a golden key, which opened all his apartments, that the prince might, without any introduction, have access to him at all hours ; he took the left hand of him on every occasion, except in the apartments assigned to

Charles, for there, he said, the prince was at home. Charles was introduced into the palace with the same pomp and ceremony that attend the kings of Spain on their coronation ; the council received public orders to obey him as the king himself, and Olivarez, though a grandee of Spain, who has the right of being covered before his own king, would not put on his hat in the prince's presence. All the prisons of Spain were thrown open, and all the prisoners received their freedom, as if an event the most honourable and most fortunate had happened to the monarch. The infanta, however, was only shown to her lover in public ; the Spanish ideas of decency being so strict as not to allow of any further intercourse until a dispensation, allowing the marriage of a Catholic princess with a Protestant prince, should arrive from the pope.

Independently of his enthusiastic gallantry towards the infanta, and the unparalleled confidence which he had placed in the honour of the Spanish nation by his romantic journey to Madrid, the decent deportment of Charles endeared him to that grave and formal (*ceremonious*) people, and inspired them with the most favourable ideas of his character ; while the bold manner, the unrestrained freedom of discourse, the sallies of passion, the levity and the licentiousness of Buckingham, entailed (*brought*) upon him the odium (*hatred*) of the whole court. He grossly insulted, and publicly quarrelled with the duke of Olivarez ; a circumstance that rendered him still more obnoxious (*unpleasing*) to the Spanish courtiers, who contemplated with horror the infanta's future condition, in being exposed to the approaches of so brutal a character.

Sensible how much he was hated by the Spaniards, and dreading the influence which the court of Madrid would acquire in England, in consequence of the projected (*intended*) marriage, Buckingham resolved to poison the mind of the prince, and, if possible, to prevent the nuptials from taking place ; and he effected his purpose. But history has not informed us by what arguments he induced Charles to offer so mortal an affront to the Spanish nation, after such generous treatment, as well as to the infanta, whom he had gone so far to visit, and for whom he had hitherto expressed the warmest attachment.

Charles now applied to his father for permission to return, and no time was lost in preparing for his departure, while Philip graced it with all the circumstances of that elaborate (*refined*) civility and respect which had attended his reception. He even erected a pillar on the spot where they took leave of each other, as a monument of mutual friendship, and the prince with every outward demonstration of attachment, entered on his journey, and embarked on board the English fleet at St. Andro.

READING XLIX.

ACCESSION OF CHARLES I.

1625.

DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM ASSASSINATED BY FELTON.

1628.

JAMES I. expired on the 27th March, 1625, and was succeeded by his son Charles. The three great monarchies of Europe were at this time ruled by young princes, Philip, Louis, and Charles, who were nearly of the same age, and who had resigned the government of themselves and of their kingdoms to their creatures (*favourites*) and ministers, Olivarez, Richelieu, and Buckingham. The important parts which all these three statesmen played on the political theatre of the world, will render it necessary to present the reader with a short biographical sketch of each.

George Villiers, duke of Buckingham, and remarkable in English history for having been the favourite of two kings, was born August 20, 1592, at Brookesby, in Leicestershire, and was the son of Sir George Villiers by a second wife, of the ancient family of Beaumont. At an early age he was sent to a private school in that county, but never having manifested any disposition for letters (*literature*), more regard was had in the course of his education to the accomplishments of a gentleman than those of a scholar. When about eighteen, he travelled

in France, where he acquired the French tongue and all the exercises at that time fashionable among the nobility—such as fencing and dancing, in which last he particularly excelled. Soon after his return to England, which was at the end of three years, his mother, who was a shrewd and enterprising woman, introduced him at court ; concluding probably, and not without good reason, that a young gentleman of his fine person and accomplishments could not fail of making his fortune under such a monarch as James I. The king, about March, 1614-15, went, according to his custom, to take his hunting pleasures at Newmarket, and the Cambridge scholars, who knew James's humour, invited him to a play, called "Ignoramus." At this entertainment, it was arranged that Villiers should appear with every advantage of dress and person ; and the king no sooner beheld him than he was struck with admiration ; for, says Lord Clarendon, " though he was a prince of more learning and knowledge than any other of that age, and really delighted more in books and in the conversation of learned men, yet, of all wise men living, he was the most delighted and taken with handsome persons and fine clothes."

The king now began to be tired of his former favourite the earl of Somerset ; and many of the courtiers were sufficiently angry with, and incensed against him, for having acquired a situation which they themselves had been ambitious of. The introduction, therefore, of a new favourite was by no means displeasing to them ; and, anxious for the removal of Somerset, they used their utmost efforts to forward the elevation of Villiers. The king's inclinations seconding their efforts, Villiers, after a few days' appearance at court, was made his Majesty's cupbearer. The queen is said to have been hostile to the introduction of this new favourite ; but archbishop Abbott, anxious to ruin Somerset, succeeded in removing her objections to his appointment. Villiers soon after, in 1615, was knighted, and made a gentleman of the bedchamber, with a pension of £1000 a year. In a short time, indeed very short for so great a rise, he was made a baron, an earl, and a marquis ; was created lord high admiral of England, lord warden of the cinque-ports, and master of the horse ; and became the channel through which all court and royal favours and honours were dis-

pensed. This privilege he used to the advancement of his family and connexions, for he was a warm and firm friend, on all occasions adopting the interests of those he esteemed as he did his own; but in the like degree he was a violent and rancorous (*milignant*) enemy. "He was," according to Lord Clarendon, "of a most flowing courtesy and affability to all men who made any address to him, and so desirous to oblige them, that he did not enough consider the value of the obligation, or the merit of the person he chose to oblige." He was, however, haughty and overbearing to such as thwarted (*opposed*) him, and of too impetuous a temper to conceal his feelings.

In 1620, Villiers, now marquis of Buckingham, married one of the most wealthy heiresses of whom England could boast, the only daughter of the earl of Rutland, and in 1623, having by his arrogance towards the prince of Wales, afterwards Charles I., hazarded the loss of his esteem, he, in order to recover the good opinion of this heir to the monarchy, projected and succeeded in putting into execution that journey to Madrid, of which a detailed account has been given in the preceding Reading.

James died in 1625, and the power of the duke of Buckingham became still farther increased by the influence he had acquired over the mind of his youthful sovereign. He was honoured with a mission to France, for the purpose of conducting into England the royal bride Henrietta Maria. When in that country, where he displayed the utmost taste and magnificence, he exhibited an instance of arrogance and impudence scarcely credible but for the high authority of the historian who relates it. "He had the ambition," says Lord Clarendon, "to fix his eyes upon, and to dedicate his most violent affections to, a lady of very sublime (*exalted*) quality, Anne of Austria, queen of Louis XIII., and to pursue it with most importunate addresses; insomuch as when the king had brought the queen his sister as far as he meant to do, and delivered her into the hands of the duke, to be by him conducted into England, the duke in his journey, after the departure of that court, took a resolution once more to make a visit to that great lady, which he believed he might do with much privacy (*secrecy*). But it was so easily discovered, that provision was made for his recep-

tion ; and if he had pursued his attempt, he had been, without doubt, assassinated, of which he had only so much notice as served him to decline the danger. But he swore in the instant, that he would see and speak with that lady in spite of the strength and power of France." In fact, his haughty soul was so incensed at the contemptuous repulse he had received, that no lesser means of gratifying his revenge would content him than a war between the two countries. The fleet which had lately returned from Cadiz, was in consequence repaired, and the army reinforced, for the invasion of France, and he entered into connexion with the French Huguenots, who were threatened by the court of France with an attack upon Rochelle, their principal place of strength. The earl of Denbigh, Buckingham's brother-in-law, was despatched to the relief of Rochelle, now closely besieged by sea ; but he returned without effecting anything, and having declined to attack the enemy's fleet, he brought on the English arms the imputation either of cowardice or incapacity.

In order to repair this dishonour, the duke went to Portsmouth, where he had prepared a considerable fleet and army ; and it was here that the national discontent, which had long been indulged against this unworthy favourite, being communicated to a desperate enthusiast, soon broke out into an event which may be considered as remarkable.

One Felton, who had been disgusted with Buckingham for not having promoted him according to his deserts, determined to avenge himself upon the duke for this fancied injustice. Accordingly he bought, at a cutler's shop on Tower-hill, a twopenny knife (so cheap was the instrument of this great attempt), and the sheath thereof he sewed to the lining of his pocket, that he might at any moment draw forth the blade alone with one hand, for he had maimed the other. This done, he made shift, partly it is said on horseback and partly on foot, to get to Portsmouth ; for he was indigent (*poor*) and low in money, which perhaps might have a little edged (*sharpened*) his desperation. At Portsmouth, on Saturday, being the 23d of August of that current year, he pressed, without any suspicion in such a time of so many pretenders to employment, into an inner chamber, where the duke was at

breakfast, accompanied] with men of quality and action, Monsieur de Soubise and Sir Thomas Fryer ; and there, a little before the duke's rising from the table, he went and stood, expecting till he should pass through a kind of lobby between that room and the next, where were divers attending him. Towards which passage, somewhat darker than the chamber which he quitted, while the duke came with Sir Thomas Fryer close to his ear, in the very moment as the said knight withdrew himself from the duke, this assassin gave him, with a back blow, a deep wound into his left side, leaving the knife in his body, which the duke himself pulling out, on a sudden effusion of spirits, he sunk down under the table in the next room, and immediately expired. Within the space of not many minutes after the fall of the body and removal thereof into the first room, there was not a living creature in either of the chambers. The very horror of the fact had stupified all curiosity. Thus died this great peer, in the 36th year of his age, in a time of great recourse unto him and dependance upon him, the house and town full of servants and suitors ; his duchess in an upper room, scarce yet out of bed ; and the court at that time six or nine miles from him, which had been the stage of his greatness.

In the midst of the confusion caused by this daring act, no one attempted to ascertain the perpetrator (*doer*) of the murder ; Felton might have easily escaped, but he stood unconcernedly by the fire in the kitchen of the house. When the gentlemen of the suite of Buckingham cried out "Where is the Villain?" he boldly stepped forward, exclaiming, "If you mean the person who killed the duke, I am the man!" Felton expected that he should have been cut to pieces by the dependents of Buckingham, and he had therefore prepared a written statement of the cause of his undertaking the assassination of this powerful nobleman. This letter is now in good preservation ; the writing is firm and clear, and the contents are as follows :—

"That man is cowardly, base, and deserveth not the name of a gentleman or souldier, that is not willing to sacrifice his life for the honour of his God, his king, and his countrie. Let no man commend me for doeing of it, but rather discommend themselves as the cause of

it, for if God had not taken away our hearts for our sins, he would not have gone so long unpunished.

“J. FELTON.”

Felton was executed at Tyburn, in 1628, and his body was hung in chains at Portsmouth.

READING L.

CARDINAL RICHELIEU,

Died 1642.

ARMAND JEAN DUPLESSIS, better known as the cardinal de Richelieu, was descended from a noble family of Poitou, being the son of François Duplessis, lord of Richelieu. He was born at his father's chateau, at Richelieu, although some authors assert, at Paris, on the 5th September, 1585. He was at first intended for the military profession, and under the name of the marquis du Chillon received an education fitted for that career (*life*). One of his brothers, who was bishop of Luçon, having, in a fit of devotion, turned monk, the young Armand was persuaded to change his views and become a priest, in order to prevent the bishopric from going out of the family. Having been introduced early at court, he attached himself to the fortunes of Mary de Medicis, and upon that princess being banished from Paris, followed her into her retirement. The treaty of Angoulême having, however, again allowed Mary de Medicis to return, she immediately recalled Richelieu, whose first care was to ingratiate himself with the favourite, the duke de Luynes. In 1622, Mary, in order to testify (*show*) her regard for Richelieu's devotion to her interests, obtained for him a cardinal's hat. The new prelate, after having received, in great pomp, his cap from the king, and returned him the accustomed thanks, went immediately and laid this new mark of dignity at the feet of Mary de Medicis. “This purple robe,” said he, “for which I am indebted to your majesty, will always remind me of the solemn vow I have taken to shed my blood in your service.” The duke d'Espèron, hitherto Mary's favourite,

soon perceived that his credit declined before that of Richelieu, and it is related by Voltaire that as he was one day descending the staircase of the Louvre, he met the cardinal, who asked him what was the news. "The news is," replied he, "that you are going up and I down." The elevation of the cardinal to the ministry met with much opposition from Louis XIII. who had a great dislike to him: but the importunities (*pressing entreaties*) and remonstrances of Mary de Medicis at length prevailed, and she succeeded in introducing into the council the man who, in the sequel (*end*), reigned with all the authority of a sovereign, and condemned her old age to the miseries of exile. Richelieu's policy (*system of politics*) proposed three principal objects. 1st. The concentration (*strengthening*) of the royal power at the expense of the oppressive privileges of a nobility impatient of the restraints of law. 2d. The entire submission of the Protestants, who were now upon the point of raising an *imperium in imperio* (*a formidable power within the state*). 3d. The humbling of the house of Austria, which had not yet abandoned its views of universal monarchy. Such plans were worthy of a genius like Richelieu's, but he found many obstacles to the success of them, one of the greatest of which was the feeble character of the king. He was unshaken, however, in his resolves, and some idea of his decision may be formed from what he said of himself to one of his ecclesiastical brethren. "When I have a project in view, I overturn every thing, level every thing to the right and left, and then cover all with my cardinal's robe." Steady to his plan, Richelieu first proceeded to reduce to submission the Protestant party, which was strongly supported both by Germany and England. The siege of Rochelle was the consequence. This town was taken in 1628, under the superintendence (*direction*) of the cardinal himself, and the king made his triumphal entry into it, preceded by the cardinal, who was attended by an immense retinue (*train*) of nobles. The streets were blocked up with the dead; many were wholly uninhabited: groups of citizens, who waited for the king's passing by, cried with a dying voice: "*Long live the king: mercy!*" Louis was much affected by this spectacle, and Richelieu himself appeared to be moved. The number of inhabitants, which the year before

amounted to nearly 30,000, were now not more than 5,000, such havoc had been made amongst them by famine and the sword. The reduction of Rochelle put an end to religious wars in France. One of the great objects of Richelieu's policy being thus attained, his next was the still more difficult one of reducing to obedience the nobles of the state, always ready to enter into negotiations with Spain, and to revolt against the royal authority. The princes and the nobility, on the other hand, were fully aware of Richelieu's intentions, and consequently they were continually forming plots against his power and his life. Richelieu commenced the execution of his plans by imprisoning the marshal Ornano, the confidant and favourite of the king's brother, the duke of Orleans. The grand prior, the duke de Vendôme, and the count de Chalas were next arrested, and the latter was executed, with circumstances of great cruelty, on the 19th August, 1626. François de Montmorency, duke de Boutteville, and the count de Chapelles, were the next victims : they suffered upon the scaffold for having broken the king's ordinance against duels. The differences between Richelieu and Mary de Medicis arose upon the former's return from Rochelle. Mary exerted all her influence with the king to procure the dismissal of the minister from his court and councils, and at length obtained from him the promise so to do. While this important event was daily expected, arrived the 11th of November, 1630, a day rendered famous in history by the appellation of *the day of dupes*. The ascendancy (*power*) of the queen-mother appeared decided. The report of Richelieu's disgrace became publicly known. Mary even received the congratulations of the courtiers; and the foreign ambassadors had already informed their courts of the great change. Whilst Mary, intoxicated with her success, was receiving the homage of her flatterers, and disposing, in anticipation (*beforehand*), of places and honours, Richelieu arrives at Versailles, and presents himself before the king, who already had begun to regret the resolution he had come to. "In you," said he to the cardinal, "I possess a faithful and attached servant; and I consider myself the more obliged to protect you, as I have witnessed your respect and gratitude for the queen my mother. Be assured of my support. I shall find means to destroy the cabal

(*plot*) formed against you by your enemies, who take advantage of the too easy credulity of the queen my mother. Continue to serve me as you have hitherto done, with fidelity, and I will defend you against all those who have conspired your ruin." Some idea may be conceived of the vast change which took place in the conduct of the courtiers both towards the queen and Richelieu, when the news of the latter's restoration to favour became known, the Luxembourg (*the queen's palace*) was deserted by the sycophants (*vile flatterers*), who hastened to overwhelm Richelieu with the basest servilities by way of atonement for their desertion of him. Now came the day of vengeance, nor was the best blood of France, then shed to glut the vindictive cardinal, sufficient to appease him; he stopped not until he had driven the queen-mother into banishment.

When he had thus signalized and established his power at home, and by the energy of his measures had made France respected abroad; when he had discovered the dangerous conspiracy formed against him by De Thou and Cinq Mars, and caused them to expiate their treachery on the scaffold, when, in short, his ascendancy, both in and out of France, appeared no longer doubtful; when nothing now remained for him but to enjoy his triumphs and to make free use of unlimited and irresponsible (*not liable to be called to account*) power, death came to surprise him, and extinguished that genius which had astonished the world and confounded his enemies. Louis, informed of the cardinal's danger, paid him a visit on the 2d of December, 1642. "Sire," said Richelieu to him, "receive my last farewell. In bidding adieu to your majesty, I have the consolation of leaving your kingdom more powerful than it has ever been, and all your enemies subdued. The only recompense I ask from you in return, is that you will continue your goodness and favour towards my nephews and other relatives; I shall give them my blessing upon one condition only—that they shall serve you always with inviolable fidelity. The council of your majesty is composed of persons competent (*able*) to serve you with effect, and your majesty will therefore act wisely in retaining them near your sacred person." Richelieu fulfilled with great scrupulosity (*exactness*) all the religious ceremonies enjoined by the church. On the 3d, at day-

break, he expressed his wish to receiv  extreme unction (*one of the sacraments of the Catholic church*). The curate of St. Eustache told him that a person of his rank might, with propriety, dispense with all the formalities which Christians of an inferior degree were expected to observe. Richelieu, convinced by nature of the nothingness of all human grandeur, and little affected in his last moments by any feelings of pride, repelled the flattery which pursued him even to his death-bed; he performed all the required ceremonies, and, in short, omitted nothing which religion, decency, and the spirit of that age required from a man of his character and profession. He died on the 4th December, 1642, at the age of 57 years.

READING LI.

GASPARD DE GUZMAN, COUNT D'OLIVAREZ, PRIME
MINISTER OF PHILIP IV. OF SPAIN, DIED

1645.

THIS celebrated minister was born at Rome, in the year 1587, whilst his father, the second count of Olivarez, filled the office of Spanish ambassador, at the papal court of Sextus V. Upon quitting the university of Salamanca, where he had particularly distinguished himself by considerable talents, he was presented at the court of Philip III. Having thus made his first step, he applied himself most assiduously to gain the favour and good opinion of the Infant, (*the eldest son of the king,*) who was afterwards Philip IV. His efforts were so far crowned with success, that in the year 1621, upon the accession of Philip IV., who was only sixteen years of age when his father died, Olivarez was called to take upon himself the administration of the kingdom. He was then thirty-two years old, and one of his first acts was to dismiss the old duke of Lerma, who, after having governed Spain under Philip III., considered himself as the natural Mentor or director of his successor. Olivarez undeceived him; but he at first dissembled his ambition, by leaving the title of prime minister to Don Balthasar. This act of hypocrisy

redoubled the friendship of Philip IV. for him, who expressed his satisfaction by bestowing on him the title of duke of San Lucar, and from that moment Olivarez was always addressed as the count-duke. His affected modesty lasted only three or four months, after which time he deprived his uncle of the reins of government, and manifested his presumption by giving the boy-king the title of "great" a title neither confirmed by his contemporaries nor by posterity.

Europe had at this period, amongst its other misfortunes, that of seeing three young kings governed by favourites—Buckingham in England, Olivarez in Spain, and Richelieu in France. All these three detested each other. The hatred of the first of the three was terminated by his death, as we have seen, in 1628. Richelieu's most anxious object was to humble the house of Austria; while the policy of Olivarez, on the contrary, was not only to secure for it the dominion of entire Germany, but also to recover the United Provinces, which had separated themselves from Spain. One of the chief obstacles to the ambitious projects of the Spanish minister, was the arrival of Gustavus Adolphus in Germany; but the death of that gallant monarch giving him fresh energy he despatched an army of twenty thousand men to the assistance of the emperor Ferdinand, in order to repair the disastrous battle of Lutzen; but this aid was given upon the condition that Austria in its turn should assist him in again reducing the United States beneath the Spanish yoke. Notwithstanding all these efforts, Holland, fortunately, preserved its independence. Unsuccessful in all his attempts against France, he became unpopular, and increased still more the general dissatisfaction as well as the hatred of the nobles, by the arrogance (*haughtiness*) of his manners, and by the enormous sacrifices which he required from all ranks. The favourite exasperated (*enraged*) the nation still further by the threat he had thrown out, of subjecting to one uniform and absolute government the different provinces of Spain. The Catalonians, jealous of their privileges, rose in arms against a detested minister, massacred their viceroy, and drove out the royal army. Olivarez carried his presumption so far as to congratulate himself upon a revolt which afforded him a pretext for avenging his own injuries, and

accomplishing his plan of despotism. But a fresh army, raised at a great expense, was repulsed before Barcelona, to which it had laid siege. Philip IV. wished to march in person against the rebels; but the count-duke feared the freedom of the camp, and dissuaded the king from his purpose. He caused a third army, chiefly composed of Portuguese nobles and their vassals, to march against Catalonia. Portugal had, since the reign of Philip II., been subjected to the Spanish monarchy, but Vasconcellos, the son-in-law of Olivarez, having exasperated the people of Lisbon by his insolence and exactions, Dom John, duke of Bragança, mounted the throne of Portugal, an event which will be described in the subsequent pages. The manner in which Olivarez announced the loss of a kingdom to his master, is perhaps unexampled in history:—"Sire," said he, "I bring you good news. The duke of Bragança has lost his senses; he has allowed himself to be proclaimed king of Portugal, and the confiscation (*forfeiture to the state*) of his property will bring into your treasury at least twelve millions." The death of his rival Richelieu, which happened in 1642, was a consolation he was not fated long to enjoy. So many accumulated disasters excited loud cries of indignation against their author; the nobles and the people combined in working his downfall. But the hatred of an entire nation was as yet insufficient to overturn his power. He himself filled up the measure of his iniquities by marrying, in 1642, the daughter of one of the highest noblemen of Castile, to his illegitimate son, whom he had recalled from India in order to introduce at court. No greater insult could be offered to a haughty nobility. It was then that the count de Grana, the emperor's ambassador, seconded the public indignation by the entreaties and remonstrances of his master. At length on the 15th January, 1643, Philip IV. resolved to banish his favourite to his estate at Luèches. But this indolent prince knew not how to wield his sceptre, and it is probable, that notwithstanding all the representations of the nobles, he would have again succumbed (*fallen beneath*) to the favourite's yoke, had not the pride of Olivarez happily come to the assistance of so much weakness. He published, under the title of *Antidoto contra las Calumnias* (An Antidote against Calumnies), a

document so much in praise of himself, so insulting to all the grandees of the kingdom, and so indiscreet, by the disclosure of so many state secrets, that the king at length could not but participate in the indignation of his people. The count-duke, banished to Toro, in the kingdom of Leon, died there in a state of despair, according to some writers three months, and to others three years, after his disgrace. His political inheritance had already passed into the hands of his nephew, Don Luis Guzman de Haro, who was his most mortal enemy. Olivarez had undoubtedly great talents, much activity, and considerable application, but he possessed not the valuable art of making a judicious choice of his agents, and was almost always betrayed by fortune, because he exacted too much from her. As to integrity, it is but justice to say that Olivarez did not become rich; he, however, constantly and systematically deceived his master, and, in a prime minister, political honesty is, of all virtues, the most necessary and indispensable.

READING LII.

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, KING OF SWEDEN.

1632.

AMONG all the illustrious characters, whether statesmen, warriors, or churchmen, who have defended and furthered the great cause of Protestantism, few can equal, but none excel the virtuous Gustavus Adolphus, who may be considered as having fallen a martyr in the cause of the reformed religion. Gustavus Adolphus was a minor by the law of Sweden, when he ascended the throne; but he was permitted by the states of the realm to assume the personal exercise of government. He soon signalized (*distinguished*) himself by his exploits (*deeds*) against the Danes, the ancient enemies of his crown, and having concluded an advantageous truce of six years with Poland in 1629, he had more leisure to take part in the affairs of Germany, and to exhibit more fully those heroic qualities which will ever command the admiration of mankind.

The motives which chiefly induced Gustavus to take up arms against the head of the empire, were the love of glory, and zeal for the Protestant religion. These, however, did not transport him beyond the bounds of prudence. He imparted (*made known*) his design to the states of Sweden; and he negotiated with France, England, and Holland, before he began his march. Charles I., still desirous of the restoration of the Palatinate, agreed to send the king of Sweden six thousand men. The people were more forward than the king. The flower of Gustavus's army, and many of his best officers, by the time he entered Germany, consisted of Scottish and English adventurers, who thronged over to support the Protestant cause, and to seek renown under the champion of their religion; so that the conquests even of this illustrious hero may be partly ascribed to British valour and British talent.

Gustavus entered Pomerania, and soon after made himself master of Colberg, Frankfort-on-the-Oder, and several other important places. The Protestant princes, however, were still backward in declaring themselves, lest they should be separately crushed by the imperial power, before the king of Sweden could march to their assistance. In order to put an end to this irresolution, Gustavus summoned the elector of Brandenburg to declare himself openly in three days; and on receiving an evasive (*equivocating*) answer, he marched immediately to Berlin. This spirited conduct had the desired effect; the gates were thrown open, and the king was received as a friend.

He was soon after joined by the landgrave of Hesse, and the elector of Saxony, who being persecuted by the Catholic confederates, put themselves under his protection. He now marched towards Leipsic, where Tilly, the emperor's general, lay encamped. That experienced commander advanced into the plain of Breitenfeld to meet his antagonist, at the head of thirty thousand veterans. The king's army consisted of nearly an equal number of men; but the Saxon auxiliaries, being raw and undisciplined, fled at the first onset, yet did Gustavus, by his superior conduct, and the extraordinary valour of the Swedes, obtain a complete victory over Tilly and the imperialists.

This blow threw Ferdinand into the utmost consternation ; and, if the king of Sweden had marched immediately to Vienna, it is supposed that he could have made himself master of that capital. But it is impossible for human foresight to discern all the advantages that may be reaped from a great stroke of fortune. Hannibal wasted his time at Capua, after the battle of Cannæ, when he might have led his victorious army to Rome ; and Gustavus Adolphus, instead of besieging Vienna, or ravaging the emperor's hereditary dominions, took a different route (*road*), and had the satisfaction of erecting a column on the opposite bank of the Rhine, in order to perpetuate (*render lasting*) the progress of his arms.

The consequences of the battle of Leipsic, however, were great, nor did Gustavus fail to improve that victory which he had so gloriously earned (*won*). He was instantly joined by all the members of the Evangelical Union, whom his success had inspired with courage. The measures of the Catholic confederates were utterly (*completely*) disconcerted (*foiled*) ; and the king of Sweden made himself master of the whole country, from the Elbe to the Rhine, a space of about ninety leagues, abounding with fortified towns.

The elector of Saxony, in the meantime, entered Bohemia, and took Prague. Count Tilly was killed in disputing with the Swedes the passage of the Leck, (April 15th, 1632,) and Gustavus, who, by that passage, gained immortal honour, soon after reduced Augsburg, and there re-established the Protestant religion. He then marched into Bavaria, where he found the gates of almost every city thrown open on his approach. He entered the capital in triumph, and there had an opportunity of displaying the liberality of his mind. When pressed to revenge on Munich the cruelties (too horrid to be described) which Tilly had perpetrated (*committed*) at Magdeburg, to give up the city to pillage, and reduce the elector's magnificent palace to ashes—"No !" replied he ; "let us not imitate the barbarity of the Goths, our ancestors, who rendered their memory detestable by abusing the rights of conquest in doing violence to humanity, and destroying the precious monuments of art."

During these transactions, the renowned Wallestein, who had been for some time in disgrace, but was restored

to the chief command with unlimited powers, soon after the defeat at Leipsic, had recovered Prague and the greater part of Bohemia. Gustavus offered him battle near Nuremberg; but the cautious veteran prudently declined the challenge, and the king was repulsed in the attempt to force his entrenchments (*fortifications*). The action lasted for ten hours, during which every regiment in the Swedish army, not excepting the body of reserve, was led on to the attack.

The king's person was in imminent (*the greatest*) danger; the Austrian cavalry, sallying out furiously from their entrenchments on the right and left, when the efforts of the Swedes began to slacken (*relax*); and a masterly retreat alone could have saved him from a total overthrow. That service was partly performed by an old Scotch colonel of the name of Hepburn, who had resigned his commission in disgust, but was present at the assault. To him Gustavus applied in distress, seeing no officer of equal experience at hand, and trusting to the colonel's natural generosity of spirit. He was not deceived, Hepburn's pride overcame his resentment. "This," said he (and he persevered in his resolution), "is the last time that ever I will serve so ungrateful a prince!"—Elate (*overjoyed*) with the opportunity of gathering fresh laurels, and of exalting himself in the eyes of a master by whom he thought himself injured, he rushed into the midst of the battle, delivered the orders of the king of Sweden to his army, and conducted the retreat with so much order and ability, that the imperialists durst not give him the smallest disturbance.

This severe check and happy escape from almost inevitable ruin, ought surely to have moderated the ardour of Gustavus, but it had not sufficiently that effect. In marching to the assistance of the elector of Saxony, he again gave battle to Wallestein with an inferior force, in the wide plain of Lutzen, and lost his life in a hot engagement, which terminated in the defeat of the imperial army. That engagement was attended with circumstances sufficiently memorable to merit a particular detail.

READING LIII.

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS OF SWEDEN.—BATTLE OF
LUTZEN.

1632.

Soon after the king of Sweden arrived at Naumberg, he learned that Wallestein had moved his camp from Weissenfels to Lutzen; and although that movement freed him from all necessity of fighting, as it left open his way into Saxony by Degaw, he was keenly (*strongly*) stimulated (*impelled*) by a desire for battle. He accordingly convened (*called together*) in his own apartment his two favourite generals, Bernard duke of Saxe-Weimar, and Kinphausen, and desired them to give their opinions freely, and without reserve. The youthful and ardent spirit of the duke, congenial (*of the same nature*) to that of the king, instantly caught fire; and he declared in favour of an engagement. But Kinphausen, whose courage was matured (*ripened*) by reflection, and chastised (*corrected*) by experience, steadily and uniformly dissuaded the king from hazarding an action at that juncture (*occasion*), as contrary to the true principles of military science. "No commander," said he, "ought to encounter an enemy greatly superior to him in strength, unless compelled to do so by some pressing necessity. Now your majesty is neither circumscribed (*confined*) in place, nor in want of provisions, forage, or warlike stores."

Gustavus seemed to acquiesce (*consent*) in the opinion of this able and experienced general; yet he was still ambitious of a new trial in arms with Wallestein. And being informed, on his nearer approach, that the imperial army had received no alarm, nor the general any intelligence of his motions, he declared his resolution of giving battle to the enemy.

That declaration was received with the strongest demonstrations of applause, and the most lively expressions of joy. At one moment the whole Swedish army made its evolutions (*military movements*), and pointed its course towards the imperial camp. No troops were ever known to advance with such alacrity (*cheerfulness*); but their

ardour was damped, and their vigour wasted, before they could reach the camp of their antagonists (*enemies*). By a mistake in computing (*reckoning*) the distance, they had eight miles to march instead of five, and chiefly through fresh-ploughed lands, the passage of which was difficult beyond description ; the miry ground clinging to the feet and legs of the soldiers, and reaching, in some places, as high as the knee.

Nor were these the only difficulties they had to encounter (*meet with*) before they arrived at Lutzen. When they came within two miles of the spot, where they hoped for a speedy termination of all their toils (*labours*), they found a swamp (*bog*), over which was a paltry (*small*) bridge, so narrow that only two men could march over it abreast. In consequence of this new obstacle it was sunset before the whole Swedish army could clear the pass ; and Wallestein, having been by this time informed of the approach of Gustavus, was employed in fortifying his camp, and in taking every other measure for his own safety and the destruction of his enemy that military skill could suggest (*prompt*).

The situation of the king of Sweden was now truly perilous. He saw himself reduced to the necessity of giving battle under the most adverse circumstances, or of incurring (*running*) the hazard of being routed (*put to flight*) in attempting a retreat with the troops fatigued and almost fainting for want of food. Yet was a retreat thought expedient (*necessary*) by some of his generals. But Gustavus, in a tone of decision, thus silenced their arguments : “ I cannot bear to see Wallestein under my beard, without making some trial with him ; I long to unearth him,” added he, “ and to behold with my own eyes how he can acquit (*conduct*) himself in the open field.”

Conformably (*agreeably*) to these sentiments, he resolved to give battle, and begin the action two hours before day. But the extreme darkness of the night rendered the execution of the latter part of his plan impracticable (*unable to be performed*) ; and when morning began to dawn, November 16th, and the sun to dispel (*drive away*) the thick fog that had obscured the sky, an unexpected obstacle presented itself. Across the line, in which the Swedish left wing proposed to advance, was cut a deep

ditch too difficult for the troops to pass ; so that the king was obliged to make his whole army move to the right, in order to occupy the ground which lay between the ditch and the hostile camp.

This movement was not made without some trouble and a considerable loss of time. When he had completed it, Gustavus ordered two hymns to be sung ; and, riding along the lines with a commanding air, he thus harangued (*addressed*) his Swedish troops : “ My companions and friends ! show the world this day what you really are. Acquit yourselves like disciplined men who have been engaged in service ; observe your orders, and behave intrepidly (*fearlessly*), for your own sakes as well as mine. If you so respect yourselves, you will find the blessing of heaven on the point of your swords, and reap (*acquire*) deathless honour, the sure and inestimable reward of valour. But if, on the contrary, you give way to fear, and seek self-preservation in flight, then infamy is as certainly your portion as my disgrace, and your destruction will be the consequence of such conduct.”

The king then addressed his German allies, who chiefly composed the second line of his army, lowering the tone of his voice, and relaxing his air of authority : “ Friends, officers, and fellow-soldiers,” said he, “ let me conjure (*implore*) you to behave valiantly this day ; you shall fight not only under me, but with me. My blood shall mark the path you ought to pursue. Keep firmly, therefore, within your ranks, and second your leader with courage. If you so act, victory is ours, with all its advantages, which you and your posterity shall not fail to enjoy. But if you give ground, or fall into disorder, your liberties and lives will become a sacrifice to the enemy.”

On the conclusion of these two emphatical (*forcible*) speeches, one universal shout of applause saluted the ears of Gustavus. Having disposed his army in order of battle, that warlike monarch now took upon himself, according to custom, the particular command of the right wing, attended by the duke of Saxe-Lawenberg, Crailtham, grand-master of the household, a body of English and Scottish gentlemen, and a few domestics. The action soon became general, and was maintained with great obstinacy on both sides. But the veteran Swedish brigades of the first line, though the finest troops in the world, and

esteemed invincible, found the passing of certain ditches, which Wallestein had ordered to be hollowed and lined with musketeers, so exceedingly difficult that their ardour began to abate (*diminish*), and they seemed to pause, when their heroic prince flew to the dangerous station, and, dismounting, snatched a partisan (*pique*) from one of his officers, saying, in an austere (*severe*) tone, accompanied with a stern look :—

“ If, after having passed so many rivers, scaled (*climbed*) the walls of numberless fortresses, and conquered in various battles, your native intrepidity (*fearlessness*) hath at last deserted you : stand firm, at least, for a few seconds ; have yet the courage to behold your master die in a manner worthy of himself ! ” and he proceeded to cross the ditch.

“ Stop, sire ! for the sake of heaven, ” cried all the soldiers ; “ spare your valuable life ! Distrust us not, we will do our duty ! ”

Satisfied, after such an assurance, that his brave brigades in the centre would not deceive him, Gustavus returned to the head of the right wing, and making his horse spring boldly across the last ditch, set an example of gallantry (*bravery*) to his officers and soldiers, which they thought themselves bound to imitate.

Having cast his eye over the enemy's left wing that opposed him, he observed three squadrons of imperial cuirassiers, completely clad in steel, and, calling Colonel Stalhaus to him, said, “ Stalhaus ! charge home these black fellows ; for they are the men that will otherwise undo us. ”

The colonel executed the orders of his royal master with great intrepidity and effect. But in the meantime, about two hours after the commencement of the battle, Gustavus lost his life. He was then fighting, sword in hand, at the head of the Smalkand cavalry, which closed the right flank of the centre of his army, and is supposed to have outstripped (*gone in advance*), in his ardour, the invincible brigades that composed his main (*chief*) body. The Swedes fought like roused lions to revenge the death of their king ; many and vigorous were their struggles ; and the approach of night alone prevented Kinphausen and the duke of Saxe-Weimar from gaining a decisive victory.

During nine hours did the battle rage with inexpressible fierceness. No field was ever disputed with greater courage than the plain of Lutzen, where the Swedish infantry not only maintained their ground against a brave and greatly superior army, but broke its force, and almost completed its destruction. Nor could the flight of the Saxons, or the arrival of Papenheim, one of the ablest generals in the imperial service, with seven thousand fresh combatants, shake the unconquerable firmness of the Swedes. The death of Gustavus deserves more particular notice.

The king first received a ball in his left arm. This wound he disregarded for a time, still pressing on with intrepid (*fearless*) valour. The soldiers, perceiving their leader to be wounded, expressed their sorrow on that account. "Courage, comrades!" exclaimed he, "the hurt is nothing; let us resume our ardour and maintain the charge." At length, however, when his voice and strength began to fail, he desired the duke of Saxe-Lawenberg to convey him to some place of safety.

In that instant, as his brave associates were preparing to conduct him out of the scene of action, an imperial cavalier advanced unobserved, and crying aloud, "Long have I sought thee!" shot Gustavus through the body with a pistol ball. But this bold champion did not long enjoy the glory of his daring exploit, for the duke's master of the horse shot him dead with the vaunting (*boasting*) words yet recent on his lips.

Piccolomini's cuirassiers now made a furious attack upon the king's companions. Gustavus was held up on his saddle for some time; but his horse, having received a wound in the shoulder, made a frightful plunge, and flung the rider to the earth. His two faithful grooms, though mortally wounded, threw themselves over their master's body; and one gentleman of the bedchamber, who lay on the ground, having cried out, in order to save his sovereign's life, that he was the king of Sweden, was instantly stabbed to the heart by an imperial cuirassier.

Gustavus being afterwards asked who he was, replied with heroic firmness and magnanimity, "I am the king of Sweden! and seal with my blood the Protestant religion and the liberties of Germany!" The Imperialists give him five wounds, and a bullet passed through his

head : yet had he strength to exclaim, " My God ! my God ! Alas, my poor queen ! alas, my poor queen ! " His body was recovered by Stalhaus, in spite of the most vigorous efforts of Piccolimini, who strove to carry it off.

READING LIV.

TERMINATION OF THE SPANISH POWER IN PORTUGAL,
AND ELEVATION OF THE DUKE OF BRAGANÇA TO THE
THRONE OF THAT COUNTRY.

1640.

THE Portuguese, naturally disgusted with the tyrannical yoke of Spain, under which they had been reduced by Philip II., were with one consent anxious to be again under the dominion of native princes, and with this view cast their eyes on the duke of Bragança. This prince was in the flower of his age, and grandson to John duke of Bragança, who had been competitor (*rival*) to Philip. His father, Don Theodosius, had been a warm friend to his country, and having opposed the first insults of the Castilians with great dignity and spirit, had by this conduct endeared himself exceedingly to the people. It was not without great difficulty that the duke, who was of a gentle and quiet temper, and rather indolent than active, was prevailed upon to enter into the views of the revolutionists ; but having been ordered to repair to the court of Madrid, where suspicions of his conduct had already been excited, it became necessary for him to act with decision, and therefore, after mature reflection, he thought it expedient (*necessary*) to send for his secretary Antonio Paez Viegas, a person of great sagacity, and to lay before him the whole state of the matter. Instead of giving his opinion, the secretary asked him, whether, if the associated lords, in imitation of the United Provinces, had resolved to set up a Republic, he would not have sacrificed his own rights to the welfare of his country ? " Yes," replied the duke, " and my fortunes and my life, if necessary, to her safety." " Why, then," said the

secretary, "should you hesitate at receiving a crown which it is her interest to offer you, and to which you have a just title?" Having said this, he knelt and kissed his hand. The duke then communicated the secret to the duchess, who, after a little reflection, said, "My lord, a violent death certainly awaits you at Madrid, and it may be at Lisbon; but you will die there a miserable prisoner, and here covered with glory and a king. This is the worst that can happen; we ought rather to confide in the love of the people, your just claim, and the divine protection." The secretary, without speaking, knelt and kissed her hand likewise. The duke then sent for Mendoça, one of the associated lords, introduced him to the duchess, and then told him he might assure those who sent him that they might dispose of him as they thought fit, and that upon the day fixed he would cause himself to be proclaimed throughout all his own estates, and wherever he had any influence.

All these transactions were in the last five months of the year, and the first time mentioned for taking up arms was the month of March ensuing; but when they came to examine things more minutely, they found it impossible to put off the attempt so long. Mendoça again repaired to the duke to consult with him, and the latter afterwards sent for his confidant and master of his household, Juan Pinto Ribeiro, from Lisbon, whom he enjoined (*instructed*) to acquaint the lords to keep punctual to Saturday, 1st December, which was the day they last appointed, and to direct all their efforts to the seizing of Lisbon, for they had some thoughts of attacking Evora, which he disapproved of. As the time drew nearer they were obliged to take some considerable citizens into their party, and a monk, one Father Nicholas de Maja, who brought the magistrates to concur with them; so that by this time the design was in the hands of at least five hundred persons of all ranks, sexes, and ages, a circumstance which made the deferring it more dangerous than the execution. Yet even after this there fell out accidents that were very near compelling them to defer it, and it certainly would have been so, if the duke of Bragança had not constantly insisted that he could no longer delay setting out for Madrid, and that he had nothing to hope if he remained still a subject of Portugal. Pinto held all the associates

closely united, and with the utmost hazard, and the most indefatigable (*unwearied*) industry, laboured to adjust (*regulate*) every thing, so as to have it ready by the time; Father Nicholas also was very useful in promoting, although cautiously, and in very ambiguous (*uncertain*) terms, that spirit it was so necessary to raise.

At length, Saturday, the 1st of December, came, when the confederates met early at the houses of Almeida and the other great men, where they were to arm themselves. In all their countenances appeared such confidence as gave hopes of victory. All being armed, they repaired to the palace by several ways, and most of them in litters, the better to conceal their number and arms; one party stopped in the hall of the German guard, another advanced as far as the vice-queen's apartments; some posted themselves opposite the castle-gates, and others proceeded to the port, in order to restrain the Spanish fleet and the troops aboard; the remainder separated themselves into two divisions, one of which posted itself opposite the Spanish body-guard, which was at the door of the royal palace, and the other near the apartments in the palace occupied by Vasconcellos the governor; independently of these, several other parties were dispersed throughout different parts of the city.

As soon as the clock struck nine, the report of a pistol was heard. This was the signal which had been agreed upon for the commencement of operations. Immediately those who had been destined to surprise the German guard having approached the racks upon which the arms of the soldiers were hung, who, suspecting nothing, were walking about their hall, seized their weapons so quickly that with the exception of a single sentinel who was killed when wishing to make resistance, all the rest were incapacitated from opposing the attempt of the patriots. Those who had gone to the port were equally successful, having surprised the fleet and made prisoners all the Spaniards who were aboard; those who were destined to attack Vasconcellos and immolate (*sacrifice*) him to the public hatred, forced open the doors of his apartment, and finding him hidden in a large clothes' press, dragged him forth, massacred him, and then threw the yet bleeding corpse to the populace, that they might glut (*satisfy*) their vengeance upon it. Then several

of the conspirators having entered the apartment of the vice-queen, who had already been informed of the death of Vasconcellos, she told them that if the tumult and disorder which reigned throughout the palace had no other object than the particular punishment of Vasconcellos, they should put an end to the confusion, and quiet the sedition, assuring them upon her word, that the king of Spain would grant them a full pardon for what they had just done; but they replied, that as they had avenged themselves for their past wrongs, upon the late unworthy minister, so had they taken measures to preserve their liberties in future, by choosing as their sovereign Dom Juan IV. late the duke of Bragança. At these words the vice-queen, enraged to the highest degree, called them traitors and rebels; and, with a countenance inflamed with anger, threatened to have them all hung; upon which one of the conspirators told her to moderate her fury, and to cease her menaces, for that it was impolitic in her to use such expressions towards those who had it in their power to do what might be displeasing to her. "And what could you do to me?" cried she. "Merely throw your highness out of the window." The vice-queen was then compelled to leave the palace, being, for greater security, conducted to the establishment devoted to the education of the Infants (*princes*) of Portugal. Thus was the revolution which placed the family of Bragança upon the throne of Portugal completed.

READING LV.

EXECUTION OF CHARLES I.

1648.

AFTER the most resolute and able resistance, Charles was compelled to succumb to (*bend beneath*) the power of the parliament, who, proceeding to the last extremity, subjected him to trial, and afterwards to decapitation. The following particulars of the execution of this unfortunate monarch are extracted from the public papers of that period, and will be found replete with interest.

From the *Army's Modest Intelligencer*, January 30.

"This day's proceeding is intelligence enough to finish this week, for the king was brought from St. James's to Whitehall, and after a short stay there, about twelve at noon, came through the banqueting-house, near which place the scaffold was erected for his execution. Being come to the scaffold, attended with Colonel Tomlinson and other officers, he made his last speech.

"He first said he would have chosen to have been silent, but that some might think that he did submit to the guilt as well as the punishment. He said that he never did begin a war with the two houses of parliament, which would be manifest, if the parliament commissions and his were produced and examined. That God's judgments were just upon him for suffering an unjust sentence (that of earl Strafford) to take effect. That he forgave all the world. That they (meaning the parliament and army) were out of the way, and he would put them in the way—to give each his due; the king his due, his successors theirs, and God his due, by calling a national synod (*assembly of divines*). That he was a martyr of the people,—and being minded by Dr. Juxon concerning religion, he said he died a Christian, according to the profession of the Church of England. His speech done, the executioner cut off his head. After his execution, proclamation was made in these words, viz. 'Whereas Charles Stuart, king of England, being for the notorious (*well known*) treasons and murders committed in the late unnatural and cruel war condemned to death: it is enacted and ordained by this present parliament, that no person or persons whatsoever presume to declare, publish, or any way promote Charles Stuart, son of the said Charles, commonly called the Prince of Wales, or any other person to be king or chief magistrate of England or Ireland, or any of the dominions belonging to them, by colour (*under pretence*) of inheritance, succession, election, or any other claim whatsoever, without the free consent of the people in parliament; upon pain to be condemned and judged as a traitor.'"

From the *Moderate Intelligencer*.

"The 30th January, 1648, was Charles, king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, put to death by

beheading, over against (*opposite*) the banqueting-house of Whitehall, the place where formerly King James had all the fencers in London encountered, in their school way, for content (*the amusement*) of the king of Denmark, who came out of his kingdom to visit him, the scaffold being made from the *same window*, and in the same manner, only larger. But to come to what passed between his sentence and execution : as he was passing, after sentence, to his lodgings, there was a cry of 'Execution !' upon which he, turning towards them, smiling, spake to one of his attendants, saying, 'Poor creatures, for sixpence they would say as much of their commanders.' Entering the house, one of his servants departed, weeping ; which he seeing, said, 'You can forbid their attendance, not their tears.' That night he commanded his dogs should be taken away and sent to his wife, as not willing to have any thing present that might take him off of serious consideration of himself.

"The bishop of London sat up with him all Saturday night. Sunday he dined and supped in his bed-chamber. Monday night he lay at St. James's : being told the next day was for his execution, he declared a great deal of readiness to come to it. He walked through the park, as his former use was, very fast, and called his guard, in a pleasant manner, 'march apace,' that he might make haste. The scaffold was hung with baize, also the rails about it ; the block, a little piece of wood, flat at bottom, about a foot and a half long. Having ended his speech, he prepared for death, putting on his cap, and off his doublet ; and presently he laid his head over the block, which was at one blow struck off by one in disguise, and taken up by another in disguise also, who held up the head, but said nothing."

From the *Perfect Weekly Account*.

"No man could have come up with more confidence and appearance of resolution than he did ; viewing the block (with the axe lying upon it), and an iron staple in the scaffold to bind him down to the block, in case he had refused to submit himself freely, without being any ways daunted (*frightened*) : yea, when the deputies of that grim (*horrid*) tyrant, Death, appeared with a terrifying disguise, the king, with a pleasant countenance, said he freely forgave them."

From the *Weekly Intelligencer*, February 3.

"The king's body is embalmed, the head sewed on, and removed to St. James's. It is referred to a committee to consider of the time, manner, and place of his burial. And in regard this is the last time mention will be made of him as a king, it will be pardoned to say something more than usual. He was the third son of his father, King James, born in Scotland, November 19, 1600, and was created duke of York, at Whitehall, the 6th of January, 1604; and on the 4th November, 1616, he was created prince of Wales and earl of Chester, and began his reign over Great Britain the 27th March, 1625, and reigned twenty-three years."

READING LVI.

THE MASKED EXECUTIONER OF CHARLES I.

It is a known fact that the person who performed the office of executioner upon the unfortunate Charles was disguised in a mask. Many surmises (*conjectures*) have been made as to the real party. The following accounts will throw some light upon it.

The first is from the "History of his Life and Times," by William Lily. "Many," says he, "have curiously inquired who it was that cut off his (the king's) head: I have no permission to speak of such things; only thus much I say, he that did it is as valiant and resolute a man as lives, and one of a competent (*sufficient*) fortune." The consequence of this passage was Lily's examination at the restoration, before the first parliament of Charles II. in June, 1660, and which he describes thus:—

"At my first appearance, many of the young members affronted me highly, and demanded several scurrilous (*insulting*) questions. Mr. Weston held a paper before his mouth, and bade me answer nobody but Mr. Prinn. I obeyed his command, and saved myself much trouble thereby; and when Mr. Prinn put any difficult or doubtful query (*question*) unto me, Mr. Weston prompted me

with a fit answer. At last, after almost one hour's tugging, I desired to be fully heard what I could say as to the person that cut Charles the First's head off. Liberty being given me to speak, I related what follows, viz.

"That the next Sunday but one after Charles the First was beheaded, Robert Spavin, secretary to lieutenant-general Cromwell, at that time, invited himself to dine with me, and brought Anthony Peerson and several others along with him to dinner. That their principal discourse all dinner time was only who it was that beheaded the king. One said it was the common hangman; another, Hugh Peters; others also were nominated, but none concluded. Robert Spavin, so soon as dinner was done, took me by the hand and carried me to the south window: saith he, 'These are all mistaken; they have not named the man that did the fact; it was lieutenant-colonel Joice. I was in the room when he fitted himself for the work; stood behind him when he did it; when done, went in with him again. There is no man knows this but my master (viz. Cromwell), commissary Ireton, and myself.' 'Doth not Mr. Rushworth know it?' saith I.—'No, he doth not know it,' saith Spavin. The same thing Spavin hath often related to me when we were alone."

The second relation concerning this mysterious executioner is taken from D'Arnaud's *Délassements de l'Homme sensible*. M. D'Arnaud protests that he received the particulars from a man of letters, of the strictest integrity, to whom it was related by an intimate friend of Lord Stair's.

This lord, says M. D'Arnaud, was the favourite of George II. and one of the generals of the English army at the battle of Dettingen. The dispositions of the marshal de Noailles were made with so much judgment and ability that nothing but the impetuosity of a subaltern (*inferior*) French officer saved the allied army from destruction, and even gave them an unexpected victory. The consequence was that lord S., who was the only individual who appeared to be aware of the unskilful movements of the allies, but whose opinion and advice were disregarded, lost the favour of his sovereign, and retired from the army in disgust. On his arrival in London he proposed to reside on his estate in Scotland; but some days before his intended departure, he received a

letter, written in a very extraordinary style, calculated at once to create curiosity in a mind not easily daunted (*alarmed*). The contents of this letter were to request an interview (*meeting*) at a particular time and place, upon business of the utmost importance, and requiring him to come alone. His lordship, who did not pay immediate attention to this communication, received a second the next day, in terms still more energetic (*forcible*).

This second summons appeared too singular to be disregarded. Lord S. therefore proceeded, unaccompanied, as desired, but not unarmed, to the place of rendezvous (*meeting*). He felt something like fear, upon entering one of the bye places in the metropolis, which most commonly have for their inhabitants the victims of poverty or of crime. He ascended a dirty and broken staircase into a garret, where, by the glimmering (*dim*) light, he perceived a man stretched upon a bed, apparently extremely old. "My lord," said this unexpected object, "I was impatient to see you ; I have heard of your renown. Sit down, you can have no apprehensions from a man who is one hundred and twenty-five years old." Lord S. took a seat, expecting, with the greatest anxiety and impatience, the elucidation (*clearing up*) of this surprising adventure, while the aged man proceeded to inquire if his lordship had not occasion for certain papers which related to his family and fortune. His lordship, much affected, replied, "Yes, I am in want of certain documents, the absence of which keeps me still from the possession of a considerable part of my inheritance." "There," returned the old man, presenting him with the key of a small casket, "those writings are there deposited." "To whom," rejoined his lordship, "am I indebted for this inestimable treasure?" "Oh, my son," replied the old man, "come and embrace your great grandfather." "My great grandfather !" interrupted his lordship, with the greatest astonishment.

But how much was that astonishment increased, when this ancestor informed him that he was the masked executioner of king Charles I. "An insatiable (*not to be satisfied*) thirst of vengeance," continued he, "impelled (*drove*) me to this abominable crime. I had been treated, as I imagined, with the greatest indignity by my sovereign. I suspected him of having seduced my daughter ;

I sacrificed every sense of loyalty and virtue to avenge this fancied injury ; I entered into all the designs of Cromwell and his associates ; I paved (*prepared*) the way to his usurpation ; I even refined upon vengeance ; I solicited Cromwell to allow me to be the executioner ; and, to fill up the measure of my guilt, the unhappy king knew, before the fatal blow, the man that was to inflict it. From that day my soul has been a prey to distraction and remorse (*sorrow for guilt*). I have been an exile, a voluntary outcast, in Europe and Asia near eighty years. Heaven, as if to punish me with greater severity, has prolonged my existence beyond the ordinary term of nature. This casket is the only remains of my fortune, and I have come here to end my miserable life. I had heard of your disgrace at court, so much the contrary to what your virtues merited, and I was desirous, before breathing my last, to contribute thus to your happiness. All I ask for in return is, that you abandon me to my wretched fate, and that you sometimes drop a tear to the memory of one whose long and sincere repentance has, I trust, at last expiated (*atoned for*) his crime."

Lord S. earnestly implored his aged ancestor to retire with him into Scotland, and there to live for the remainder of his days under a fictitious (*false*) name. He long withstood all these importunities ; but, at length, wearied out with continued and reiterated (*repeated*) entreaties, he consented, or rather appeared to acquiesce in his relative's wish. But the next day, upon his lordship's return to the house, he found that his great grandfather had quitted it, nor, although he made the most persevering inquiries after him, could he ever discover what had become of him.

READING LVII.

MASSANIELLO, THE FISHERMAN OF NAPLES.

1648.

ONE of the most extraordinary instances in history, of a successful attempt upon the part of a populace to resist tyrannical power, occurred at Naples, in the same

year which witnessed the death of our own Charles the First.

Tommaso Aniello, commonly called Massaniello, a remarkable leader of revolt, was the son of a fisherman of Amalfi, where he was born about the year 1623. At the time of his birth, the kingdom of Naples was under the dominion of the house of Austria, and was governed by a viceroy. Although the Neapolitans had for some years evinced (*shown*) their attachment and liberality towards their masters by cheerfully bearing various onerous (*burdensome*) taxes; yet, upon the occasion, in the year 1646, of a new imposition in the shape of a tax upon fruit, the people, thus deprived of their ordinary and favourite article of food, determined to rid themselves not only of this, but of every other species of exaction (*unjust tax*). The viceroy, to whom petitions, as well as personal applications, had been addressed, promised to redress their grievances, but being assured by the farmers, that to remove the tax would not only prejudice (*hurt*) their interests, but also render insolent a wretched mob, he retracted (*recalled*) his word, and refused to take any measures to do away the evil complained of.

At this time Massaniello, who was twenty-four years of age, was living near the great market-place at Naples. He was stout, of a pleasing countenance, and in stature about the middle height. His dress consisted of linen trousers and waistcoat, generally blue, with a sailor's scarlet cap; he wore neither shoes nor stockings. This man having noticed the complaints then prevalent (*general*) throughout the lower orders, was returning home one day, much out of humour with the state of things, when he met a well known bandit (*robber*) of the name of Perrone, who, together with his companion, had fled to a church by way of refuge or asylum. Being asked by them what had so ruffled (*disturbed*) his temper, he replied furiously, "May I be hanged if I do not see this city righted." "You right the city, indeed!" exclaimed they, laughing, "you are a fine fellow, to be sure!" "Pray," rejoined Massaniello, "pray do not mock me. I take heaven to witness that if I could find only two or three more, determined like myself, the thing should be done. Will you join me?" "Willingly," replied they. "Give me your words, then." This done, he went

his way. Shortly afterwards, when some of his fish had been seized by the officers, because he had not paid the tax, he determined to take advantage of the dissatisfaction of the people on account of the tax upon fruit. Proceeding, therefore, to the fruit shops which were in that part of the city, he advised the populace to come next day determined to tell the country fruiterers that they would purchase no more taxed fruit : but not succeeding according to his wishes in this first attempt, he formed another design to raise a tumult in the market-place on the festival of the Carmelites, usually celebrated about the middle of July, when, between five and six hundred youths entertain the people by a mock fight ; one half of them in the character of Turks defending a wooden castle, which is attacked and stormed by the other half in the character of Christians. Massaniello being appointed captain of one of these parties, and Perrone of the other, they were, for several weeks before the festival, very diligent in reviewing and training their followers, who were armed with sticks and canes ; but a small and unforeseen accident tempted them to begin their enterprise without waiting for the festival.

On the 7th July, a disturbance happened in the market-place between the tax-gatherers and some gardeners of Pozzuolo, who had brought some figs into the city, whether the buyer or the seller should pay the duty ; after the tumult had continued for some hours, Massaniello, who was present with his company, excited the mob to pillage (*plunder*) the office built in the market for receiving the duty, and to drive away the officers with stones. The respectable portion of the people present, who, by deciding against the gardeners, had increased the tumult, ran to the palace, and informed the viceroy, but he, most imprudently, neglected all means of putting a stop to the commotion (*riot*). Massaniello, in the meantime, being joined by great numbers of people, ordered his young troop to set fire to all the offices for the taxes throughout the city ; which command being executed with despatch, he then conducted them directly to the palace, where the viceroy, instead of ordering the Spanish and German guards to disperse them, encouraged their insolence, by timidly granting their demands. As they rushed into the palace in a furious manner, he escaped.

by a private door, and endeavoured to save himself in the Castel del Ovo ; but being overtaken by the rioters in the streets, he was trampled upon, and pulled by the hair and whiskers. However, by throwing some hand-fuls of gold among them, he again escaped, and took sanctuary (*refuge*) in a convent of Minims (*an order of monks*) ; where being joined by the archbishop of Naples, cardinal Filomarino, and several nobles, he signed an ordinance (*proclamation*) by which he abolished all taxes upon provisions. He likewise desired the cardinal to offer Massaniello a pension of two thousand four hundred crowns, but he generously rejected the bribe, declaring, that if the viceroy would keep his word, he would find them obedient servants.

It was now expected that the tumult would cease ; but Massaniello, upon his return to the market-place, being joined by several malecontents (*discontented people*), among whom were Gennino and Perrone, he was advised by them to order the houses of all concerned in raising the tax to be burned, which were accordingly in a few days reduced to ashes, with all their rich furniture. Massaniello, being now absolute master of the whole city, and joined by many persons of desperate fortunes, required the viceroy, who had retired to the Castel Nuovo, to abolish all the taxes, and to deliver up the writ of exemption granted by Charles V. This new demand greatly embarrassed the viceroy, but to appease (*quiet*) the people, he drew up a false deed in letters of gold, and sent it to them by their favourite, the duke of Matalone, whom he now set at liberty. The fraud, however, being discovered, the duke was pulled from his horse, ill-treated by the mob, and at length committed as a prisoner to the custody of Perrone. This accident, to the great joy of the viceroy, enraged the people against the nobility, several of whom they killed, burnt the houses of others, and threatened to extirpate (*destroy utterly*) them all. Massaniello, in the mean time, tattered and half naked, commanded his followers, who were now well armed and reckoned about one hundred thousand men, with a most absolute sway. He ate and slept little, gave his orders with great precision (*exactness*) and judgment ; appearing full of moderation, without ambition and interested views. But the duke of Matalone having procured

his liberty by bribing Perrone, the viceroy imitated his example, and secretly corrupted Gennino to betray his chief. A conspiracy was accordingly formed against Massaniello by Matalone and Perrone; the duke, who was equally exasperated (*enraged*) against the viceroy, proposing, that after his death his brother D. Joseph should head the rebels.

Massaniello, in the meantime, through the cardinal archbishop, was negotiating a general peace and accommodation; but while both parties were assembling in the convent of the Carmelites, the banditti hired by Matalone made an unsuccessful attempt upon Massaniello's life. His followers immediately killed a hundred and fifty of them. Perrone and D. Joseph, being discovered to be concerned in the conspiracy, were likewise put to death, and the duke escaped with difficulty. Massaniello, by this conspiracy, was rendered more suspicious and severe. He began to abuse his power by putting several persons to death upon slight pretences; and, to force the viceroy to an accommodation, he cut off all communication with the castles, which were unprovided with provisions and ammunition. The viceroy, likewise, being afraid lest the French should take advantage of the commotion (*tumult*), earnestly desired to agree to a treaty, which was accordingly concluded, on the fifth day of the insurrection, by the mediation (*instrumentality*) of the archbishop. By this treaty it was stipulated (*agreed*) that all duties imposed since the time of Charles V. should be abolished; and that the writ of exemption granted by that emperor, should be delivered to the people; that, for the future, no new taxes should be imposed; that the vote of the respectable part of the community should be equal to the votes of the nobility; that an act of oblivion (*forgetfulness*) should be granted for all that had passed; and that the people should continue in arms under Massaniello, till the ratification (*authorizing*) of the treaty by the king.

By this treaty no less than ten thousand persons, who fattened upon the blood of the public, were ruined. The people, when it was solemnly published, manifested extreme joy, believing they had now recovered all their ancient rights and privileges. Massaniello, at the desire of the viceroy, went to the palace to visit him, accom-

panied by the archbishop, who was obliged to threaten him with excommunication, before he would consent to lay aside his rags and assume a magnificent dress. He was received by the duke with the greatest demonstrations (*show*) of respect and friendship, while the duchess entertained his wife, and presented her with a robe of cloth of silver and some jewels. The viceroy, to preserve some shadow (*appearance*) of authority, appointed him captain-general, and, at his departure, made him a present of a gold chain of great value, which with difficulty he was prevailed upon to accept. Next day, in consequence of the commission granted him by the viceroy, he began to exercise all the functions (*duties*) of sovereign authority. Having caused a scaffold and several gibbets to be erected in one of the streets, he judged all crimes, whether civil or military, in the last resort (*without appeal*), and ordered the guilty to be immediately put to death, that being the punishment he assigned (*appointed*) to all offences. Though he neglected all forms of law, and even frequently judged by physiognomy (*the science of discovering people's characters by their looks*), yet he is said not to have overlooked any criminal, or punished any innocent person.

His grandeur and prosperity were of very short continuance; for becoming distracted and delirious (*out of his mind*) for two or three days he committed a great many mad and extravagant actions, and on the 18th of July, was assassinated with the consent of the viceroy. Some attribute his madness to the sudden change of his fortune, and his excessive joy at restoring the liberty of his country; others to the want of rest and too much wine; and some allege (*assert*) that it was the effect of poison, secretly administered to him by the Spaniards. The populace (*mob*) at first carried his head about the city on a pole, and treated his body with the greatest indignity (*insult*), throwing it into the common sewer; but a few days after, upon the weight of bread being lessened, they began to regret the death of Massaniello, and having taken his body from its filthy receptacle, they attached the head to it, carried the corpse in solemn procession through all quarters of the city, and afterwards buried it with all the ceremonies of a royal funeral.

READING LVIII.

CROMWELL.

1649.

CONQUEST OF JAMAICA.

1655.

ON December 16, 1653, Cromwell was declared protector or supreme magistrate of the commonwealth, and, certainly, thus much must be said in his praise, that not one of our legitimate monarchs ever made England more, if so much, respected by foreign powers as he did. One of the most considerable acquisitions which England made under his administration was the conquest of Jamaica from the Spaniards.

Cromwell had wrong and narrow notions concerning the interests of Europe, and fell in with the vulgar way of thinking, that the gaining of treasure ought to be his great object; and as none was so ready as that of the Spanish West Indies, he lived in a kind of perpetual warfare with that crown. But, by this time, the object of the English national jealousy ought to have been changed from the house of Austria to that of Bourbon, which last, under the administrations of the cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin, had been attempting, for many years, to lay the foundations of universal monarchy. Cromwell, not alive to this momentous (*highly important*) consideration, was persuaded by Mazarin to fit out, from England, an armament (*expedition*) for the conquest of Hispaniola. This expedition was the more to his liking, as it was extremely popular in England; and even many of the royal party who were disgusted at the treatment their king had received from the court of Madrid, embarked in it, as some say, to the number of two thousand. The command of the expedition was given to colonel Venables and admiral Penn; and they sailed from England with, at least, seven thousand land troops on board, a great part of whom was composed of Cromwell's veterans. This force was greatly augmented (*increased*) by the people of Barbadoes, and the other leeward islands; and on the 13th of April, the fleet arrived

at Hispaniola, in sight of the town of St. Domingo. The numbers who landed under Venables, who was suspected of being attached to the royal party, are said to have been seven thousand, besides a troop of horse ; but by reason either of not having well concerted (*arranged*) his measures, or from some other cause, they were repulsed ; and Venables re-embarked his men. The shame of returning unsuccessful to England suggested to the English officers an expedition against Jamaica, which was instantaneously (*immediately*) resolved upon, before the Spaniards there could have any intelligence of the miscarriage (*failure*) at Hispaniola.

On the 2nd of May, the English landed at Jamaica, and it being determined immediately to attack St. Jago, proclamation was made that every man should shoot his neighbour dead, if he should see him attempt to flee (*run away*). The Spaniards at St. Jago, being in no condition to oppose the force that was advancing against them, after a very slight resistance, proposed to capitulate (*surrender upon terms*), and to deliver up the city ; and, in the meantime they furnished the English with fresh provisions. Venables has been blamed for suffering the people of St. Jago to amuse him with a negotiation, during which they secured, in the more inland parts, their best effects ; so that when the English came to the possession of St. Jago, they found nothing but bare walls.

Notwithstanding this disappointment, they were in possession of the capital of the island, and, in fact, of the island itself ; for though the Spaniards, in parties, sometimes attempted to surprise them in the woods, yet they never appeared in a body, and at last found means to transport themselves and effects (*property*) to Cuba. The reduction (*conquest*) of Jamaica, with so little loss on the part of the invaders, astonished the Spanish government. The viceroy of Mexico, understanding that the Mulattoes and Negroes belonging to the Spaniards of Jamaica, had taken refuge in the woods, sent orders to the governor of Cuba to supply the planters who had fled thither with whatever was necessary for taking re-possession of the island, and promised to support them with a proportionable land force. They accordingly returned to Jamaica, but lived, dispersed in the woods, in so miserable a manner, that the five hundred land

troops who had been sent to their assistance, refused to associate with them, and fortified themselves in the northern part of the island, at a place called St. Chereras, where they soon received very considerable reinforcements. Meanwhile, the English had begun to plant the south and south-east parts of the island, of which colonel Doyly was left governor, with three thousand men, and a large squadron of ships, commanded by vice-admiral Goodson, while Penn and Venables returned to England.

Their success at Jamaica did not appease (*lessen*) Cromwell's resentment for their failure at Hispaniola, and it was greatly increased by being informed of the true principles of the two commanders, who were no sooner landed than they were committed prisoners to the Tower of London, but from which they were soon delivered with abundance of honour and without trial. Venables afterwards became eminently instrumental in restoring Charles II. Cromwell resolving to trust no officer recommended by Venables, sent over major Sedgwick to supersede (*replacé*) Doyly, with a reinforcement of a thousand men. The Spaniards, who had fortified themselves at St. Chereras, had been reinforced by thirty companies, besides artillery and provisions, from Cuba and the continent, and had thrown up several formidable works (*fortifications*) at Rio Nuevo, in the precinct (*district*) of St. Mary. Doyly attacked them in their entrenchments, from whence he drove them, in a few days, with considerable slaughter. They next attempted to make a stand at Point Pedro, from which they were likewise driven; and thus, the English, under Doyly, being far inferior in numbers to the Spaniards, re-established the character of their national valour, which had suffered at Hispaniola. The Spaniards, being beaten from place to place, were obliged at last to embark on board their ships, and return to Cuba, leaving the quiet possession of Jamaica to England.

The Spanish Negroes and Mulattoes, however, still kept the woods and mountains, where they subsisted by game and plunder. Part of them perceiving that they had been abandoned by the Spanish regular troops, murdered the governor who had been put over them, and chose one of their own number. All this while they were

hunted and cut off by the English like so many wild beasts. Finding that they could hold out no longer, they sent a deputation to governor Doyly, who received them into favour, upon their delivering up their arms; but another party of them still existed, and were headed by some of the old Spanish inhabitants. The submitting Negroes, who were much fonder of their new masters than they had been of their old, were very useful in clearing the island of those remains of the Spaniards, who were entirely rooted out; and not above twenty or thirty of their Negroes, in a year's time, were left upon that island; but these knew the inland part of it so well, that they could not be dislodged, and afterwards proved very dangerous enemies to the British settlers. Doyly, though a professed royalist, still kept command of the island, and acted with equal wisdom and resolution; major Sedgwick having died a few days after his arrival. But while the colony was improving beyond example, being well supplied from their mother country with every kind of necessaries, a spirit of mutiny, headed by one colonel Raymond, and lieutenant-colonel Tyson, began to appear in the army. It is probable that the mutineers were encouraged by their knowing how disagreeable Doyly was to Cromwell; but he had the courage to bring them both to a court-martial, where they were condemned to be shot to death, and this sentence was accordingly executed. Cromwell, by this time, sent orders to colonel Brayne, in Scotland, to embark with a thousand men from Port Patrick, and to sail for Jamaica, where he was to supersede Doyly in the government; but that gentleman likewise died soon after his arrival, and Doyly remained governor of the island at the time of the restoration.

As the first English planters of Jamaica were composed of men of various sects, parties, and opinions, but most of them accustomed to a military life, either by sea or land, we are not to expect among them any uniform system of conduct. The example and authority of Doyly had, indeed, done wonders, and some of Cromwell's veterans, as well as the royalists, were become excellent planters; others, who never had been habituated (*accustomed*) to civil life, entered as cruisers and privateers against the Spaniards, whom, even while there was peace between the two crowns, they robbed of immense sums,

which were all spent in Jamaica. This practice, together with the thriving state of the colony, raised its character in the West Indies so greatly, that several eminent planters repaired thither from Barbadoes. Colonel Doyly, about the time of the restoration, was succeeded by lord Windsor as governor of Jamaica, who, in 1663, was replaced by sir Thomas Modiford. This gentleman having acquired a large estate at Barbadoes, removed to Jamaica to better it, as did several other wealthy planters. Jamaica had, by this time, increased its white inhabitants to the number of eighteen thousand ; but its chief trade, as already hinted, consisted in their depredations upon the Spaniards, which, there is too much reason to believe, was connived (*winked*) at by the governor.

READING LIX.

MARSHAL TURENNE.

1655.

WHILE England was in the height of power and grandeur, and the usurper Cromwell feared and courted by all the states in Europe, France was torn with civil dissensions. This induced cardinal Mazarin, anxious for England's assistance against Spain, to conclude a treaty with Cromwell, in which the latter treated his most christian majesty upon a footing of equality, obliged him to acknowledge his title of protector, and to give notice to the fugitive king of England to quit the French territories.

In the meantime Turenne was pursuing his conquests. He had early in the campaign opened a way to the Spanish Netherlands, by obliging Landreci and Quesnoi to surrender ; while the duke de Vendôme, with an inferior force, defeated the Spanish fleet before Barcelona.

During the winter, several proposals of peace made by Spain were rejected by cardinal Mazarin, highly elated with the successes of the former campaign, and full of expectation from the alliance contracted with Cromwell, who had already, as we have seen in the preceding read-

ing, effected the conquest of the island of Jamaica. Spain endeavoured to be revenged of the cardinal. Don Lewis de Haro dispersed writings throughout all the courts in Europe against Mazarin, accusing him of having violated all laws divine and human, and sacrificed honour and religion by contracting an alliance with a murderer and an usurper, and driving out of the French dominions king Charles the Second and his brother the duke of York, the grandchildren of Henry the Fourth and cousins of Louis the Fourteenth. But the cardinal answered the whole accusation by showing publicly the proposals made by Spain to the protector; though it must be acknowledged that Spain had not the same natural ties and obligation to countenance (*protect*) the fugitive princes.

Owing to want of money, in the month of July, before any thing considerable was undertaken in the field; at length Turenne opened the campaign by laying siege to Valenciennes, where he experienced the same turn of fortune that Condé had felt the preceding year before Arras. The Spanish army not being yet assembled, he marched expeditiously to Tournay, hoping to surprise this fortress, at that time defended only by a slender garrison. Finding, however, that several regiments of the enemy were encamped in the neighbourhood, he altered his purpose, and marched straight to Valenciennes. This town was defended only by two thousand foot and two hundred horse of regular troops; but the inhabitants, to the number of ten thousand men, were armed. The very evening of his arrival, he invested the place, drove the enemy from two redoubts, and next morning began to draw lines of circumvallation. The marshal de La Ferte, who had joined him a few days before, was posted with his army on the eminence to the right of the river towards St. Amand, while the viscount took post on the left of the river towards the plain. By the third day the lines were sufficiently advanced to prevent any succours from being conveyed to the besieged. An attempt made by the enemy for this purpose, was frustrated, and a great number of Spanish officers and soldiers were taken prisoners. On the sixth day the lines were completed, with a double ditch defended by palisadoes. But the Spaniards were not idle; they made use of several reservoirs near Bonchain to swell the river Scheldt, which

divides the town into two parts, and drown the country. The viscount's army was greatly incommoded by this expedient ; but his indefatigable industry surmounted the difficulty. He caused the reservoirs to be drained, several channels to be dug, and turned the course of the water so as to drown one quarter of the city. The prince of Condé, now assisted by don John of Austria, assembled his army with all expedition at Douai, and posted himself on an eminence, within half a cannon shot of the French lines. On his left he had the Scheldt, over which he threw six bridges. The Spanish army amounted to twenty thousand men ; and, as it was nearly as strong as the viscount's, the latter foresaw, by their motions, they would attack him in his camp, and accordingly, turned his chief thoughts to the defence of his lines. As the marshal de La Ferte's quarter was most exposed, it was fortified with double lines palisadoed, one of which was new and the other old ; but the marshal, thinking the first sufficient, ordered the other to be levelled. On the 16th, advice was brought that the enemy had sent away their baggage, and were drawn off in order of battle. As they were so near as to reach the entrenchments in half an hour, the viscount sent repeated messages to the marshal, exhorting him to be on the watch ; but his advice was slighted. In the beginning of the night he was attacked, and his lines forced with little difficulty. The marshal, finding the enemy had entered his quarters, flew with some squadrons to repulse them ; but all was now in confusion, his personal bravery was excited to no purpose, and all his endeavours to retrieve (*repair*) his mistake were ineffectual. Condé, with the Spanish infantry, having filled up the ditches, marched directly to the town, while the cavalry were sent in pursuit of the fugitives. La Ferte was taken prisoner with more than four hundred officers, and near four thousand soldiers. Marsin had, in the meantime, attacked Turenne's quarters, who had weakened himself to succour La Ferte, but he was repulsed with great loss. However, the viscount's success could not prevent the fatal consequences of the marshal's defeat, for by day-break, the shouts of joy in Valenciennes proclaimed that the town was relieved. It was now that Turenne stood in need of all his ability and genius to draw off the broken troops in the face of a

victorious enemy. He sent immediately to the trenches, with orders for the troops to retire; but, they being about a league distant, his directions could not be executed without great loss. In a short time, however, he so retrieved matters, that after dismounting the cannon and levelling the lines, he marched off in such good order with his artillery and baggage, that the enemy durst not attack him. As his march was directed to Quesnoi, it was thought he would have retired to the frontiers of France; and it is probable, indeed, he would have retreated to Picard, had he not been sensible that such a movement would have disturbed the court, and given new life to the king's enemies. He therefore halted at Quesnoi, and marched back with some regiments to meet the prince of Condé and don John, who had come in pursuit of him. At the first approach of the enemy, the French began to move the baggage; but the viscount, firing a pistol at a soldier busied in loading a cart, commanded, on pain of death, that no one should quit his post. When the Spaniards came near enough to discover his camp, they were astonished at the air of resolution he maintained, with his tents standing and camp unfortified. This intrepidity obliged Condé to change his design, at the same time that it removed the apprehensions and panic (*general alarm*) in the French army, by showing so little precaution on so pressing an occasion.

The enemy directed their march with intention to lay siege to Condé; and Turenne, penetrating their design, sent a thousand horse, each with a sack of corn behind him, to victual the place. In a word, the conduct of the viscount, during the whole of this unfortunate affair, drew upon him the admiration of Europe, and was, perhaps, one of the most masterly of his exploits. All the French writers speak of it as something supernatural; and the king was so delighted with the stand made at Quesnoi, that he ordered Tellier, his secretary, to return his thanks to the viscount for retrieving the reputation of his arms, after so unfortunate a defeat. He could not, however, prevent the fate of the town of Condé, but he reduced Capelle while the enemy was in sight with a superior army. The prince of Condé and don John, who had laid siege to St. Guillaîne, abandoned that enterprise, and hastened to the relief of Capelle. They advanced

within a league of the French entrenchments ; but the infantry being much fatigued with their march and the heavy rains which had fallen for the whole day, they continued, for two days, in sight of Turenne's camp without offering battle ; while he battered the town so vigorously, that it was obliged to surrender. Immediately he repaired the breaches, left a good garrison in the place, and, by his expedition, threw succours into St. Guillaîne, before the enemy had time to return. With this transaction, the campaign ended, both armies contenting themselves with observing each other's movements, and frustrating (*rendering vain*) all the attempts of either side by judicious evolutions and dispositions.

READING LX.

THE RESTORATION.—INFAMOUS CONDUCT OF CHARLES II.
WAR WITH HOLLAND.—MAGNANIMITY OF THE PRINCE
OF ORANGE.

1660—1672.

No prince ever had it more in his power to render himself the favourite of his people, and that people great, flourishing and happy, than Charles II. of England. But a short time only sufficed to exhibit him in his true colours, and to convince the nation that he was as insensible to gratitude, as he was deaf to the lessons of adversity. Intent only on the gratification of the most sensual appetites, he cared not how far he degraded himself and the nation, provided he could find funds necessary for indulging them, and he was consequently base enough to become the pensioner of England's greatest foe, Louis XIV. It was not long before the French monarch exacted the services of his royal dependent. Holland having presumed to prescribe limits to his conquests, he had resolved upon revenge, to effect which, he disdained not to stoop to pander to the passions of Charles, and by means of madame Querouaille, afterwards the duchess of Portsmouth, he maintained the influence he had already acquired over the dissolute monarch by the treaty which had been negotiated by his sister the duchess of Orleans.

England was, therefore, at the dictation of the king of France, compelled to make preparations for war ; and although these could not escape notice, yet it was not fully believed in Holland that they could be intended against the States. The declaration of war, however, bearing date March 17, 1672, removed all doubt, as Louis had affected to take offence at certain insolent speeches, and pretended insulting medals, and Charles, after complaining of a Dutch fleet, on its own coast, not striking the flag to an English yacht, mentioned certain abusive pictures as a cause of quarrel. The Dutch were at a loss for the meaning of this last article, until it was discovered, that a portrait of Cornelius de Wit, brother to the pensionary, painted by order of the magistrates of Dordrecht, and hung up in a chamber of the town-house, had given occasion to the complaint. In the back ground of that picture, were drawn some ships on fire in a harbour, construed to be Chatham, near which port De Wit had really distinguished himself.

The French monarch, in his declaration of war, affected greater dignity. He condescended not to go into particulars ; it was sufficient that the States should have incurred his displeasure to feel his vengeance. To effect this, he had engaged in the confederacy the kings of England and Sweden, the bishop of Münster, a warlike and rapacious prelate, and the elector of Cologne. The united fleets of France and England, exceeding a hundred sail, were ready to ravage the coasts ; and a hundred and twenty thousand men, led by the ablest generals of the age, approached the frontiers of the republic.

The Dutch were in no condition to resist such a force, especially by land. Relying upon the peace of Westphalia, they had suffered their fortifications to fall into decay, while their small army was ill disciplined and worse commanded. The old officers, who were chiefly devoted to the house of Orange, had been dismissed during the triumph of the rigid (*strict*) republican party, and their places supplied by raw (*inexperienced*) youths, the sons or kinsmen of burgomasters (*magistrates*), by whose interest that party was supported.

The pensionary (*chief magistrate*) now sensible of his error, in relying too implicitly (*confidently*) on the faith of treaties, attempted to raise a respectable military force,

for the defence of his country in this dangerous crisis. But every proposal which he made to that effect was counteracted by the partisans of the house of Orange, who ascribed to his misconduct alone the defenceless state of the republic; and their power, which had increased with the difficulties of the States, had become formidable by the popularity of the young prince William III., now in the twenty-second year of his age, who had already given strong indications (*signs*) of the great qualities which afterwards distinguished his active life.

In consequence of those virtues and talents, William was appointed commander-in-chief of the forces of the republic, and the whole military power was put into his hands. New levies were made, and the army was completed to the number of seventy thousand men. The pensioner De Wit, still attending to the navy in preference to the army, hastened the equipment of the fleet, in hopes that, by striking at first a successful blow, he might be able to inspire courage into the dismayed States, as well as support his declining authority. Animated by the same hopes, De Ruyter, his firm adherent, and the greatest naval officer of the age, put to sea with ninety large ships, and forty smaller vessels of war.

The English fleet, under the duke of York and the earl of Sandwich, had already joined the French fleet, commanded by count d'Estrées. With this junction the Dutch were unacquainted. When De Ruyter came in sight, the combined fleet, to the number of a hundred and twenty sail, lay at anchor in Southwold Bay (May 28). The earl of Sandwich, who had before warned the duke of the danger of being surprised in such a posture, but whose advice had been slighted as savouring of timidity, now hastened out of the bay, where the Dutch, by their fire-ships, might have destroyed the whole fleet of their adversaries. Though determined to conquer or perish, he so tempered (*corrected*) his courage with prudence, that the combined fleet was evidently indebted to him for its safety. He commanded the van (*foremost ships*); and by his vigour and activity, gave the duke of York and D'Estrées time to disengage themselves. Rushing into battle, and presenting a front to every danger, he had drawn the chief attention of the enemy. He killed Van Ghent, a Dutch admiral, and beat off his ship, after

a furious engagement ; he sunk a man of war, and three fire-ships that endeavoured to grapple (*fasten on*) him. Though his own ship was so much shattered, and, of nine hundred men whom he had on board, two-thirds were killed or wounded, he still continued to thunder with all his artillery, and to set the enemy at defiance, until he was attacked by a fourth fire-ship more fortunate than the three others. The ruin of his ship was now inevitable (*unavoidable*); yet he refused to make his escape. So deep had the duke's sarcasm sunk into his mind, that a brave death, in those awful moments, appeared to him the only refuge from ignominy (*disgrace*), since his utmost efforts had not been attended with victory.

During this terrible conflict (*engagement*) between Van Ghent's division, and the earl of Sandwich, the duke of York and De Ruyter were not idle. The duke bore down upon the Dutch admiral, and fought with such fury for two hours, that of thirty-two actions in which the hoary veteran (De Ruyter) had been engaged, he declared that this was the most vigorously disputed. Night put a stop to the doubtful contest. The next morning the duke of York thought it prudent to retire. The Dutch, though much disabled, attempted to harass him in his retreat ; he turned upon them, and renewed the fight ; and sir Joseph Jordan, who had assumed (*taken*) the command of the van, having gained the weather-gage (*the advantage of the wind*) of the enemy, De Ruyter fled, from a sense of his danger, and was pursued by the duke to the coast of Holland. As the English hung close on his rear, fifteen of his disabled ships would not have been saved but for a sudden fog. The French took scarcely any share in this action ; and, as backwardness is not their national characteristic, it was universally believed that they had received orders to remain at a distance, while the English and Dutch were weakening each other ; an opinion which was confirmed by all the subsequent (*following after*) engagements during the war.

It was certainly honourable for the Dutch to have fought the combined fleet with so little loss ; but if they had even been victorious on this occasion, the mischiefs which threatened them by land would not, perhaps, have been prevented.

READING LXI.

WAR WITH HOLLAND.—MAGNANIMITY OF THE PRINCE
OF ORANGE.—CONTINUED.

1672.

THE king of France divided his numerous army into three bodies. The first he headed in person, assisted by the famous Turenne ; the prince of Condé led the second ; and Chamilli and Luxembourg commanded the third. The armies of the elector of Cologne and the bishop of Münster appeared on the other side of the Rhine, and divided the force and attention of the States. Too weak to defend their extensive frontier, the Dutch were scattered into so many towns, that no considerable body appeared in the field ; and yet a strong garrison was scarcely to be found in any fortress. Orsoy, Wesel, Rhinberg, and Burick were taken, almost as soon as invested (*surrounded*) by the French generals. Groll surrendered to the bishop of Münster ; and Louis, to the universal consternation of the Hollanders, advanced, in June, to the banks of the Rhine.

The passage of that river, so much celebrated by the flatterers of Louis, had in it nothing extraordinary. The extreme dryness of the season, in addition to the other misfortunes of the Dutch, had much diminished the greatest rivers, and rendered many of them, in some places, fordable. The French cavalry, animated by the presence of their prince, and protected by a furious discharge of artillery, threw themselves into the Rhine, and had only a few fathoms to swim : the infantry, with the king at their head, passed quietly over a bridge of boats ; and as only a few Dutch regiments, without any cannon, appeared on the other side, the peril was not very alarming.

The attempt, however, was bold, and its success augmented the glory of Louis and the terror of his arms. Several towns surrendered at the first summons, and the prince of Orange, unable to make head (*oppose*) against the victorious enemy, retired into the province of Holland with his small and discouraged army. The progress of Louis, like an inundation, levelled every thing before it.

The town and province of Utrecht sent deputies to implore his clemency. Naerden, within thirteen miles of Amsterdam, was reduced by the marquis de Rochefort, and, if he had taken possession of Muyden, the keys of which were delivered to some of his advanced parties, but recovered by the magistrates when the moment of terror was over, Amsterdam itself must have fallen, and with it, perhaps, the republic of Holland.

But this opportunity being neglected, the States had leisure to recollect themselves ; and the same ambitious vanity which had induced (*led*) the French monarch to undertake the conquest of the United Provinces, proved the means of their preservation. Louis entered Utrecht in triumph, June 25, surrounded by a splendid court, and followed by a gallant army, glittering with gold and silver ; and in the course of a few weeks so many towns had submitted to his arms, that only the reduction of Holland and Zealand seemed necessary for the complete success of his enterprise. But he wasted in vain parade (*show*) at Utrecht the season proper for that purpose.

The people of the remaining provinces, instead of collecting courage and unanimity from the approach of danger, became still more a prey to faction, and ungovernable and outrageous from their fears. They ascribed (*imputed*) all their misfortunes to the unhappy De Wit, whose prudence and patriotism had formerly been the object of such general applause. Not only the bad state of the army, and the ill choice of governors, were imputed (*laid*) to him, but, as instances of cowardice multiplied, treachery was suspected ; and his former connexions with France being remembered, the populace believed that he and his party had conspired (*plotted*) to betray them to their ambitious enemy. Under this impression, and perhaps from a hope of disarming the resentment of the king of England, the torrent of popular favour ran strongly towards the prince of Orange, who was represented as the only person able to save the republic. The pensionary and his partisans, were, however, unwilling to relinquish (*give up*) their authority, and hence the distracted counsels of the State continued to endanger the country.

Amsterdam alone, amid the general despondency, seemed to retain any degree of courage or conduct. The magistrates obliged the burgesses (*citizens*) to keep strict

watch ; the populace, whom want of employment might engage to mutiny, were maintained by regular pay, and armed and disciplined for the public defence. Ships were stationed to guard the city by sea ; and, as a last resource, the sluices (*flood-gates*) were opened, and the neighbouring country was laid under water without any regard to the fertile fields, the numerous villas, and flourishing villages, which were overwhelmed by the inundation. The whole province followed the example of the capital.

But the security derived from this expedient (*measure*) was not sufficient to infuse courage into the dejected States. The body of the nobles and eleven towns voted to send ambassadors to the hostile kings in order to supplicate for peace. They offered to surrender Maestricht, and all the frontier towns situated beyond the limits of the Seven Provinces, and to pay a large sum towards the expenses of the war. Fortunately for the republic and for Europe these conditions were rejected. Louis, in the absence of Turenne, listened to the violent counsels of Louvois, whose unreasonable demands threw the States into a despair which overcame their fears. Finding, moreover, that the terms demanded by Charles were equally galling (*severe*), they became convinced that their only hope of safety consisted in vigorous exertion. At last the people rose at Dordrecht, an example followed by other towns ; and, in the commencement of July, the prince of Orange was declared stadtholder.

This revolution, so favourable to the defence of the republic, was followed by a lamentable tragedy. The talents and virtues of the pensionary De Wit marked him out as a sacrifice to the vengeance of the Orange party, now triumphant. But popular fury prevented the interference of power. His brother Cornelius, who had so often served his country with his sword, was accused, by a man of an infamous character, of endeavouring to bribe him to poison the prince of Orange. The accusation, though attended with the most improbable circumstances, was greedily received by the credulous multitude, and even by the magistrates. Cornelius was cited (*summoned*) before a court of judicature (*justice*), and put to the torture, in order to extort a confession of his crime. He bore with the most intrepid firmness all that

cruelty could inflict ; but he was deprived of his employments, and sentenced to banishment for life. The pensionary, who had supported his brother through the whole prosecution, resolved not to desert him, in his disgrace. He accordingly went to his prison, intending to accompany him to the place of his exile. The signal was given to the populace (*mob*) ; they broke open the prison doors, and having dragged forth the two brothers,* wounded, mangled, and brutally tore them to pieces.

The massacre of these obnoxious citizens, by extinguishing for a time the animosities (*hatred*) of party, gave vigour and unanimity to the councils of the States. All men, from fear, inclination, or prudence, concurred (*united*) in paying the most implicit (*blind*) obedience to the prince of Orange ; and William, worthy of that heroic family from which he was descended, adopted sentiments becoming the head of a brave and free people. He exhorted them to reject (*refuse*) with scorn the humiliating (*disgraceful*) conditions demanded by their imperious (*haughty*) enemies ; and by his advice, the States put an end to negotiations, which had served only to depress (*lower*) the courage of the citizens, and delay the assistance of their allies. He showed them that, aided by the advantages of their situation, they would still be able, if they should not abandon themselves to despondency (*despair*), to preserve the remaining provinces, until the other nations of Europe, sensible of their common danger, would come to their relief. And he professed (*declared*) himself willing to undertake their defence, provided they would second his efforts with the same manly fortitude which they had so often displayed under his illustrious predecessors.

The spirit of the young prince seemed to diffuse (*spread*) itself through the republic. The people, who had lately entertained only the thought of yielding their necks to subjection, now bravely determined to resist the haughty victor and to defend the remnant (*remainder*) of their soil, of which neither the arms of Louis nor the inundation had yet bereaved (*deprived*) them. Should even the ground on which they might combat fail them, they were still resolved not to yield the generous strife (*contest*), but flying to their settlements in the East Indies, erect a new empire in the South of Asia, and preserve

alive, even in the climates of slavery, that liberty of which Europe was unworthy. They had already, indeed, concerted (*taken*) measures for executing this extraordinary resolution ; and found that the ships in their harbours, adequate (*fit*) for such a voyage, were capable of carrying fifty thousand families, or above two hundred thousand persons.

The reflections of Voltaire upon this subject are truly ingenious and striking,—"Amsterdam, the emporium (*principal mart*) and the magazine of Europe, wherein commerce and the arts are cultivated by three hundred thousand inhabitants, would soon, in that event, have become one vast morass (*bog*). All the adjacent (*neighbouring*) lands, which require immense expense, and many thousands of men, to keep up their dikes (*mounds of earth to keep out the sea*), would again have been overwhelmed by that ocean from which they had been gained, leaving to Louis XIV. only the wretched glory of having destroyed one of the finest and most extraordinary monuments of human industry."

READING LXII.

MAGNANIMITY OF WILLIAM, PRINCE OF ORANGE. —
 RECALL OF THE FRENCH ARMY FROM HOLLAND. —
 CONCLUDED.

1673.

No sooner did the confederate (*united by treaty*) kings perceive the new spirit with which the Dutch were animated, than they bent all their efforts to corrupt (*bribe*) the prince of Orange. They offered him the sovereignty of the province of Holland, to be enjoyed under the protection of France and England, and secured against the invasion of foreign enemies, as well as the revolt of his own subjects. But William, from motives of prudence, if not patriotism, rejected all such proposals. He was sensible that the season of extreme danger was over, and that the power which he had lately derived (*obtained*) from the suffrages (*votes*) of his countrymen, was both

more honourable, and less precarious (*hazardous*), than that which must depend upon princes, who had already sacrificed their faith to their ambition. He therefore declared that he would sooner retire, if all his endeavours should fail, and pass his life in hunting on his lands in Germany, than betray the trust reposed in him, by selling the liberties of his country. And when asked in a haughty tone, if he did not see that his country was already ruined, he firmly replied, "There is one way by which I can be certain never to see the ruin of my country ; and that is, to die in disputing the last ditch !"

The Dutch, however, were much disappointed in finding that the elevation of the prince of Orange to the dignity of stadtholder had no influence on the measures of his uncle, the king of England. Charles persisted in his alliance with France. But other circumstances saved the republic. When the hostile fleets approached the coast of Holland, with an army on board commanded by count Schomberg, they were carried back to sea in so wonderful a manner, and afterwards prevented from landing the forces by such stormy weather, that providence was believed to have interposed (*interfered*) miraculously, to prevent the ruin of the Hollanders ; and Louis, finding that his enemies gained courage behind their inundations, and that no further progress was likely to be made by his arms during the campaign, had retired to Versailles, in order to enjoy the glory of his success, which was pompously displayed in poems, orations, and triumphal arches. Meanwhile the other states of Europe began to discover, in 1673, a jealousy of the power of France. The emperor, though naturally slow, had put himself in motion ; the elector of Brandenburg showed a disposition to support the States ; the king of Spain had sent some forces to their assistance ; and, by the vigorous efforts of the prince of Orange, and the prospect of relief from the allies, a different face of affairs began to appear.

Charles still remained determined to persevere in his alliance with France, in the Dutch war, and consequently in all the secret designs which depended on such pernicious measures. With the money granted by parliament, he was enabled to equip a fleet, the command of which was given to prince Rupert ; Sir Edward Spragge, and the earl of Ossory commanded under the prince.

The English fleet and a French squadron sailed towards the coast of Holland, where three indecisive actions were fought with the Dutch, under De Ruyter and Van Tromp. The third claims our attention on account of its obstinacy. Tromp fell alongside of Spragge, and both engaged with great spirit (Aug. 11.) Tromp was compelled once to shift his flag, Spragge twice to quit his ship; and, unfortunately, as the English admiral was passing to a third ship, in order to hoist his flag and renew the contest, a shot struck his boat and he was drowned, to the great regret even of his enemies. But the death of this gallant officer did not pass unrevenge'd. Van Tromp, after the disaster of Spragge, was repulsed (*beaten back*), in spite of his most vigorous efforts, by the intrepidity (*bravery*) of the earl of Ossory.

In the mean time, a furious combat was maintained between De Ruyter and prince Rupert. Never did the prince acquire more deserved honour; his conduct (*ability*) being no less conspicuous (*manifest*) than his valour, which shone with distinguished lustre. When victory had long remained doubtful, the prince threw the Dutch into some confusion, and in order to increase it, sent two fire-ships among them. They at once took to flight, and had the French, who were masters of the wind (*had the wind in their favour*), and to whom a signal was made, borne down upon the foe, a decided advantage would have been gained; but they paid no regard to the signal. The English, seeing themselves neglected by their allies, gave over the pursuit; and De Ruyter, with little loss, made good his retreat. The victory, as usual, was claimed by both sides.

While the Dutch thus continued to defend themselves with vigour by sea, fortune was still more favourable to them by land. Though the French monarch took Maestricht, one of their strongest bulwarks (*fortifications*), after a siege of twenty days, no other advantage was gained during the campaign. Naerden was retaken by the prince of Orange; and the imperialists, under Montecuculli, after having in vain attempted against Turenne the passage of the Rhine, eluded (*escaped*) the vigilance of that able general, and suddenly invested Bonne. The prince of Orange, by a conduct no less masterly, leaving behind him the other French generals,

joined his army to that of the empire. Bonne surrendered in the autumn, after a short siege. The greater part of the electorate was subdued by the Dutch and the Germans; and the communications between France and the United Provinces being thus cut off, Louis was obliged to recall his forces, and abandon his conquests, with the utmost precipitation (*haste*). The very monuments of his glory were not completed when he returned in disgrace; the triumphal arch at the gate of St. Denis was yet unfinished, after all cause for triumph had ceased.

A congress (*meeting*) holden at Cologne, under the mediation of Sweden, was attended with no success, and Holland succeeded in persuading Spain to issue a declaration of war against France. The operations of the ensuing campaign, 1674, now commenced, and Louis astonished all Europe by the vigour of his exertions. He had three great armies in the field this summer; nothing, however, of importance occurred, except in Flanders, where the prince of Condé, with an inferior army, prevented the prince of Orange from entering France by that quarter, and after long avoiding an engagement, from motives of prudence, he attacked the rear of the confederates (*allies*) when an opportunity offered in a defile (*narrow pass*) near Senaffe, a village of Brabant, threw them into confusion, and took great part of their cannon and baggage. The prince of Orange, however, less remarkable for preventing misfortune, than for stopping its progress, rallied his disordered forces, led them back to the charge, pushed the veteran troops of France, and obliged the great Condé to exert more desperate efforts, and hazard his person more than in any action during his life, though now in an advanced age, and, though he had been particularly distinguished in youth by the impetuosity of his courage. William did not expose his person less. Hence the generous and candid testimony of Condé, forgetful of his own behaviour: "The prince of Orange has acted in every thing like an old captain, except in venturing his life too much like a young soldier."

The engagement was several times renewed, and after sunset it was continued for two hours by the light of the moon. Darkness, at length, put an end to the contest, and left the victory undecided. Twelve thousand men

lay dead upon the field, and the loss on each side was nearly equal. Before the close of the campaign the prince of Orange took Grave, the last town which the French held in any of the Seven Provinces.

The events of the next campaign, 1675, were chiefly distinguished by the death of the most consummate general of his age, the great marshal Turenne; his loss was an irreparable one to Louis. Turenne was opposed, on the side of Germany, by the celebrated Montecuculli. The object of the latter was to pass the Rhine, and penetrate into Alsace, Lorraine, or Burgundy; that of the former, to guard the frontiers of France, and baffle (*render fruitless*) all schemes of rival hostility. The greatest skill was displayed on both sides. Both had reduced war to a science, and each was enabled to discover the designs of the other, by judging what he himself would do under similar circumstances. Turenne, by posting himself on the German side of the Rhine, was enabled not only to prevent Montecuculli from passing that river, but to seize any opportunity that fortune might present. Such a happy moment he thought he had discerned, and was preparing to take advantage of it by bringing the Germans to a decisive engagement, and his own generalship and that of Montecuculli, to a final trial, when a period was put to his life by a cannon ball, on the 27th July, as he was viewing the position of the enemy and taking measures for erecting a battery.

READING LXIII.

THE BUCCANEERS.

1663.

AFTER the failure of the mines in Hispaniola, which were never very rich, and the conquest of the two extensive empires of Mexico and Peru, where the precious metals were found in the greatest profusion (*plenty*), that valuable island was entirely neglected by the Spaniards. The greater part of its once flourishing cities were deserted by their inhabitants, and the few planters that remained

sunk into the most enervating (*weakening*) indolence. It possessed, however, a very considerable portion of the necessities, and not a few of the luxuries, of life. All the European animals had multiplied exceedingly, but especially the horned cattle, which had become, in a manner, wild, and wandered about in large droves, without any regular owner. Allured by these conveniences, many French and English adventurers, since known by the name of Buccaneers, or Freebooters, had taken possession of the small island of Tortuga, as early as the year 1632, and found little difficulty, under such favourable circumstances, of establishing themselves on the northern coast of Hispaniola. The dress of these adventurers consisted of a shirt dipped in the blood of the animals they had slain ; a pair of trowsers, dirtier than the shirt ; a leathern girdle, from which hung a short sabre, and some Dutch knives ; a hat without any rim, except a flap before, in order to enable them to pull it off ; shoes made of raw hides, but no stockings. They at first subsisted chiefly by the hunting of wild cattle. Part of the beef they ate fresh and part they dried, like the savages, with smoke, in places called *buccans* by the natives, whence the name of Buccaneers. The hides of the beasts they killed they sold to the masters of such vessels as came upon the coast, who furnished them, in return, with clothes, liquors, fire-arms, powder and shot. But the wild cattle at length becoming scarce, the Buccaneers were under the necessity of turning their industry to other objects. Such as were more sober-minded than the rest, applied themselves to the cultivation of the ground, which abundantly requited their toil ; while those of a bold and restless disposition associated themselves with pirates (*sea robbers*) and outlaws of all nations, and formed the most terrible band of ravagers that ever infested (*haunted*) the ocean. To these ravagers, however, rendered famous by their courage and their crimes, France and England were indebted, in some measure, for the prosperity of their settlements in the West Indies.

Nothing could appear less formidable than the first armaments of the piratical Buccaneers, who took the name of Brothers of the Coast. Having formed themselves, like the hunters of wild cattle, into small societies, they made their excursions in open boats, which generally con-

tained between twenty and thirty men, exposed to all the intemperature of the climate, to the burning heat of the day, and the chilling damps of the night. The natural inconveniences, connected with this mode of life, were augmented by those arising from their licentious disposition.

A love of freedom, which, duly regulated, cannot be too much cherished, rendered the Buccaneers averse to all those restraints which civilized men usually impose on each other for their common happiness; and as the authority which they had conferred (*given to*) upon their captain was chiefly confined to the command in battle, they lived in the greatest disorder. Like savages, having no apprehension of want, nor taking any care to guard against famine by prudent economy, they were frequently exposed to the extremities of hunger and thirst. But deriving, even from their distresses, a courage superior to every danger, the sight of a sail transported them to a degree of frenzy (*madness*). They seldom deliberated on the mode of attack, their custom being to board the ships as soon as possible. The smallness of their own vessels, and their dexterity in managing them, preserved them from the fire of the enemy. They presented to the broadside of a ship only their slender prows, filled with expert marksmen, who fired at the enemy's port-holes with such exactness, as to confound the most experienced gunners. And when they could fix their grappling tackle (*ropes for fastening one vessel to another*), the largest trading vessels were generally obliged to strike (*yield*).

Although the Buccaneers, when under the pressure of necessity, attacked the ships of every nation, those belonging to the subjects of Spain were more especially marked out as the objects of their piracy. They thought the cruelties which the Spaniards had exercised on the natives of the new world, were a sufficient apology for any violence that could be committed against them. Accommodating their conscience to this belief, which, perhaps, unknown to themselves, was rather dictated by the richness of the Spanish vessels than by any real sense of religion or equity (*justice*), they never embarked in an expedition without publicly praying to heaven for its success; nor did they ever return loaded with booty (*spoils*) without solemnly returning thanks to God for their good fortune.

This booty was originally carried to the island of Tortuga, the common rendezvous (*place of meeting*) of the Buccaneers, and then their only place of safety. But afterwards, the French went to some of the ports of Hispaniola, where they had established themselves in defiance of the Spaniards; and the English to those of Jamaica, where they could dispose of their prizes to more advantage, and expend their money more agreeably, either in business or pleasure.

Before the distribution (*sharing*) of the spoil, each adventurer held up his hand, and protested (*affirmed*) he had secreted (*concealed*) nothing of what he had taken; and if any one was convicted of perjury (*swearing falsely*), a case which seldom occurred, he was punished in a manner that seems to deserve the imitation of better men. He was expelled from the community (*society*) and left, as soon as an opportunity offered, upon some desert island, as a wretch unworthy to live in society, even with the destroyers of their species (*kind*).

After providing for the sick, the wounded, the maimed, and settling their several shares, the Buccaneers indulged themselves in all kinds of licentiousness. Their debauches (*excesses*) were limited only by the want which their prodigality (*extravagance*) occasioned. If they were asked what satisfaction they could find in dissipating (*wasting*) so rapidly what they had earned (*gained*) with so much difficulty and danger, they made this ingenious reply:—"Exposed as we are to a variety of perils, our life is very different from that of other men. Why should we who are alive to-day, and may, most likely, be dead to-morrow, think of hoarding (*saving*)? Studious only of enjoying the present time, we never think of that which is to come." This has ever been the language of men in such circumstances: the desire of passing life in indulgence and dissipation, not solicitude (*care*) for the preservation of existence, seems to increase in proportion to the danger of losing it.

The ships that sailed from Europe to America seldom tempted the avidity of the first Buccaneers, as the merchandize they carried could not readily have been sold in the West Indies in those early times. But they eagerly watched the Spanish vessels on their return to Europe, knowing them to be partly laden with treasure. They

usually followed the galleons and flota, employed in transporting the produce of the mines of Mexico and Peru, as far as the channel of Bahama ; and if, by any accident, a ship was separated from the fleet, they instantly beset her, and she rarely escaped them. They even ventured to attack several ships at once, for the Spaniards, who considered them as demons, and trembled at their approach, commonly surrendered; if they came to close quarters.

A remarkable instance of this timidity on one side, and of temerity on the other, occurs in the history of Peter Legrand, a native of Dieppe, who, with a small vessel, carrying no more than twenty-eight men and four guns, had the boldness to attack the vice-admiral of the galleons. Resolved to conquer or die, and having exacted an oath to the same purpose from his crew, he ordered the carpenter to bore a hole in the side of his own vessel, that all hope of escape might be cut off. This was no sooner done than he boarded the Spanish ship, with a sword in one hand, and a pistol in the other : and, bearing down all resistance, entered the great cabin, attended by the most desperate of his associates. He there found the admiral surrounded by his officers, when presenting a pistol to his breast, he ordered him to surrender. Meanwhile the rest of the Buccaneers took possession of the gun-room, and seized the arms. Struck with terror and amazement, the Spaniards called for quarter. Parallel (*similar*) examples are numerous in the history of the Buccaneers.

READING LXIV.

BUCCANEERS.—ADVENTURES OF MORGAN.

1668.

THE Spaniards, almost reduced to despair, on finding themselves continually harassed by those ravagers, diminished the number of their ships ; and the colonies relinquished their connexions with each other. These humiliating precautions, however, served but to increase

the boldness of the Buccaneers. They had hitherto invaded the Spanish settlements only to procure provisions ; but no sooner did they find their captures decrease, than they determined to procure by land that wealth which the sea denied them. They accordingly formed themselves into larger bodies, and plundered many of the richest and strongest towns in the new world. In a word, the Buccaneers, the most extraordinary set of men that ever appeared upon the face of the globe, but whose duration was transitory (*passing quickly away*), subjected to their arms, without a regular system of government, without laws, without any permanent (*lasting*) subordination, and even without revenue, cities and castles which have baffled the utmost efforts of national force ; and if conquest, not plunder, had been their object, they would, in all probability, have made themselves absolute masters of South America.

Of all the Buccaneers, French or English, no one was so uniformly successful, or executed so many great and daring enterprises, as Henry Morgan, a native of Wales. This man sailed in 1668 from Jamaica to attack Porto Bello ; and his measures were so well concerted (*planned*) that, soon after his landing, he attacked the sentinels, and made himself master of the town, before the Spaniards could put themselves in a posture of defence.

In hopes of reducing, with the same facility, the fortress, into which the citizens had conveyed their most valuable property and all the plate belonging to the churches, Morgan thought of an expedient (*contrivance*) which discovers his knowledge of national characters, as well as of human nature in general. He compelled the nuns and other women, and also the priests, whom he had made prisoners, to plant the scaling ladders against the walls of the fortress, from a persuasion that the gallantry and superstition of the Spaniards would not suffer them to fire on the objects of their love and veneration. But he found himself deceived in this flattering conjecture (*supposition*). The Spanish governor, who was a resolute soldier, used his utmost efforts to destroy every one that approached the works (*fortifications*). Morgan and his English associates, however, carried the place by storm, in spite of all opposition ; and found in it, beside a vast quantity of rich merchandize, bullion (*uncoined gold*

and silver) and specie (*coined gold and silver*), equivalent (*equal*) to one hundred thousand pounds sterling.

With this booty Morgan and his crew returned to Jamaica, where he immediately planned a new enterprise. Understanding that De Basco and Lolonois (two other Buccaneers) had been disappointed with regard to the plunder of Maracaibo, by their imprudent delay, he resolved from emulation (*rivalry*), no less than avidity, to surprise that place. With this view, in 1669, he collected fifteen vessels, carrying nine hundred and sixty men. These ravagers entered the gulf of Venezuela unobserved, silenced the fort that defended the passage to the lake of Maracaibo, and found the town, as before, perfectly deserted. But they were so fortunate as to discover the chief citizens, and the greater part of their wealth, in the neighbouring woods. Not satisfied, however, with this booty (*prey*), Morgan proceeded to Gibraltar (a town in Venezuela), which he found in the same desolate condition; and while he was attempting, by the most horrid cruelties, to extort (*force*), from such of the inhabitants as had been seized, a discovery of their hidden treasures, he was informed of the arrival of three Spanish men-of-war at the entrance of the lake.

A thist intelligence, which was confirmed by a boat dispatched to reconnoitre the enemy, the heart of the bravest Buccaneer sunk within him. But although Morgan considered his situation as desperate, his presence of mind did not forsake him. Concealing his apprehensions, he sent a letter to Don Alonzo del Campo, the Spanish admiral, boldly demanding a ransom for the city of Maracaibo. The admiral's answer was resolute, and excluded (*shut out*) all hopes of acting upon his fears. "I am come," said he, "to dispute your passage out of the lake, and I have the means of doing it. Nevertheless, if you will surrender, with humility, all the booty and prisoners you have taken, I will suffer you to pass, and permit you to return to your own country without molestation. But if you reject this offer or hesitate to comply (*consent*), I will order boats from Caraccas, in which I will embark my troops; and sailing to Maracaibo, will put every one of you to the sword. This is my final determination. Be prudent, therefore, and do not abuse my kindness by an ungrateful return. I have with me," added he, "very

good troops who desire nothing more ardently, than to revenge on you and your people all the cruelties and depredations (*robberies*) which you have committed upon the Spanish nation in America."

As soon as Morgan had received this letter, he called together his followers, and acquainting them with its contents, desired them to deliberate (*consult*) whether they would give up all their plunder, in order to secure their liberty, or fight for it? They unanimously (*with one consent*) answered that they would rather lose the last drop of their blood than resign (*give up*) a booty which had been purchased with so much peril. Morgan, however, sensible of his dangerous situation, endeavoured to compromise the matter, but in vain. The Spanish admiral continued to insist upon his first conditions. When Morgan was informed of this inflexibility, he coolly replied: "If Don Alonzo will not allow me to pass, I will find means to do so without his permission." He accordingly made a division of the spoil, that each man might have his own property to defend; and, having filled a vessel, which he had taken from the enemy, with a preparation of gunpowder and other combustible materials, he gallantly proceeded to the mouth of the lake; burned two of the ships and took one; and by making a feint (*pretence*) of disembarking men, in order to attack the fort by land, he diverted (*took off*) the attention of the garrison to that side, while he passed the bar (*rock or sand bank at the entrance of a river or lake*) with his whole fleet, on the other, without receiving any damage.

The success of Morgan, like that of all ambitious leaders, served only to stimulate (*impel*) him to greater undertakings (1670). Having disposed of his booty at Port Royal, in Jamaica, he put to sea with a larger fleet and a more numerous body of adventurers; and, after reducing the island of St. Catherine, where he procured a supply of naval and military stores, he steered for the river Chagre, the only grand object of his armament. At the mouth of this river stood a strong castle, built upon a rock, and defended by a good garrison, which threatened to baffle (*elude*) all the efforts of the Buccaneers, when an arrow, shot from the bow of an Indian, lodged in the eye of one of those resolute men. With wonderful firmness and presence of mind, he pulled the arrow from the

wound, and wrapping one of its ends in tow, put it into his musket, which was already loaded, and discharged it into the fort, where the roofs of the houses were of straw and the sides of wood, conformably to the custom of building in that country. The burning arrow fell on the roof of one of the houses, which immediately took fire—a circumstance which threw the Spaniards into the utmost consternation, as they were afraid, every moment, of perishing by the rapid approach of the flames, or the explosion (*blowing up*) of the powder magazine. After the death of the governor, who bravely perished, sword in hand, at the head of a few determined men, the place surrendered to the assailants.

This obstacle being removed, Morgan and his associates, leaving the larger vessels under a guard, sailed up the Chagre in boats to Crucés, and thence proceeded by land to Panama. On the Savannah, a spacious plain before the city, the Spaniards made several attempts to repel the ferocious invaders, but without effect; the Buccaneers gained a decided superiority in every encounter (*contest*). Foreseeing the overthrow of their military protectors, the unarmed inhabitants sought refuge in the woods; Morgan then took quiet possession of Panama, and deliberately plundered it for some days.

Preparatory to their return, the booty was divided, and Morgan's share alone is said to have amounted to nearly one hundred thousand pounds sterling. He carried all his wealth to Jamaica, and never afterwards engaged in any piratical enterprise.

The defection (*falling off*) of Morgan, and of several other principal leaders, who sought and found an asylum in the bosom of that civil society whose laws they had so atrociously violated, with the total separation of the English and French Buccaneers, (in consequence of the war between the two nations, which followed the Revolution in 1688,) broke the force of those powerful plunderers. The king of Spain, being then in alliance with England, she repressed the piracies of her subjects in the West Indies (1690). The French Buccaneers continued their depredations with success, till the peace of Ryswick in 1697; when all differences between France and Spain having been adjusted (*made up*), a stop was everywhere put to hostilities, and not only the association,

but the very name of this extraordinary set of men, soon became extinct. They were insensibly lost among the other European inhabitants of the West Indies.

READING LXV.

THE EXPEDITION OF HIS HIGHNESS THE PRINCE OF ORANGE, AFTERWARDS WILLIAM III. OF ENGLAND.

1688.

JAMES II. having, by his tyrannical conduct, as well as his openly expressed intention of restoring the Roman Catholic worship as the religion of the state, forfeited the allegiance of his subjects, overtures (*proposals*) were made to William, prince of Orange, a protestant prince of high character and abilities, and who had married James's daughter Mary, to ascend the English throne. The following letter, describing the expedition of that prince to England, will not fail to be read with considerable interest. It was written at the time by an eye-witness, and was addressed to a person of quality at court.

Sir—Although the account you so earnestly desired of me, of the prince's expedition and invasion of England, is a task no one should have commanded from me but yourself; yet the ancient friendship between us makes nothing appear difficult in the way to serve you.

I shall not undertake to determine the legality (*lawfulness*) of this great and bold attempt, but shall content myself with giving you a brief account of the prince's expedition.

And, first, you are to take notice that his highness set sail from Holland with fifty-one men-of-war, eighteen fire-ships, and about three hundred and thirty tenders, being ships hired of merchants, for the carriage of horse and foot, arms, and ammunition, &c. The fleet stood out at sea to the northward, and met with horrid storms for two days and two nights together; in which bad weather there were lost above five hundred horse, and a vessel parted from the fleet wherein were four hundred foot,

supposed to be lost, but now known to be arrived at the Texel, though grievously shattered and torn by the storm; two of the prince's principal men-of-war were forced to new rig at Helveltsluice.

The prince, immediately on his return back, informed the States of the condition of the fleet—which was not so damnified (*damaged*) as was represented by the vulgar and ignorant—who, thereupon, in order to lull a great man (James II.) asleep, (*to put him off his guard*) ordered that the Haerlem and Amsterdam Courantier (*newspaper*), should make a dismal story of it, by representing to the world that the prince returned with his fleet miserably shattered and torn, having lost nine men-of-war, and divers (*several*) others of less concern (*value*); a thousand horse ruined; a calenture (*a kind of fever in which seamen imagine the ocean to be green fields*) among the sailors; the loss of Dr. Burnet, and the chief ministers under the prince; the ill opinion the States had of this expedition; in short, that one hundred thousand pounds would not repair the damage; and that it was almost impossible that the prince should be in a condition to pursue his design till the spring. And yet at the same time all hands were at work to repair the damaged ships, which were few in number; so that in eight days' time, they were all refitted (*repaired*). The signal being given by the discharge of a gun, all the fleet immediately weighed anchor and stood out to sea, steering their course northwards all that night: next day, upon tide of ebb (*ebb tide*) they made a stretch, and made a watch (*four hours*), about a league, and then stood westward, and lay all night in the same posture, not making two leagues a watch.

In the middle of the night, an advice boat brought us an account, that the English fleet, consisting of thirty-three sail, lay to the westward of ours. Upon which the prince fired a gun, which caused a great consternation in the whole fleet; we having a brisk easterly wind, concluded ourselves to be all ruined; but the small advice boats cruising (*sailing about*) for a more certain account of the English fleet, brought us back word, that instead of the English fleet, which the former advice had alarmed us with, it was admiral Herbert with part of our fleet, which had been for some hours separated from the body of our fleet; upon whose arrival great rejoicing was

among us all, and a signal of joy was given for it by the prince.

In the morning, about eight, the prince gave a signal, that the admiral should come aboard him. Immediately after, the whole fleet was got into the North Foreland, upon which the prince gave the usual signal of danger (according to the printed book), and ordered that the fleet should all come up in a body, some fifteen or sixteen deep, his highness leading the van in the ship the Brill (in English, Spectacles); his flag was English colours, the motto impaled (*inscribed*) thereon was, THE PROTESTANT RELIGION AND LIBERTIES OF ENGLAND, and underneath, instead of *Dieu et mon droit*, was, AND I WILL MAINTAIN IT.

The council of war, from on board the prince, sent three small frigates into the mouth of the Thames, viz. the Porpus, Postillion, and Mercury; who, on their return, brought us word, that the English fleet lay in the buoy of the Nore, consisting of thirty-four sail, and three more which lay in the Downs. The wind continuing at E.N.E.

The prince immediately thereupon gave another signal of stretching the whole fleet in a line from Dover to Calais, twenty-five deep; so that our fleet reached within a league of each place; the flanks and rear were guarded by our men-of-war. The sight would have ravished (*delighted*) the most curious eye of Europe. When our fleet was in the greatest splendour, the trumpets and drums played various tunes to rejoice our hearts. This continued for above three hours.

Immediately after the prince gave a signal to close, and sailed that night as far as Beach, and commanded us to follow the signal by lights he had hung out to us, viz. that all the small sail should come up to him by the morning.

By the morning we espied the Isle of Wight, and then the prince ordered the fleet to be drawn into the same position, as before related, yet not stretching above half channel over, in this place; about five in the morning, we made (*reached*) the Start, the wind chopping (*changing*) about to the westward; upon which we stood fair by Dartmouth, and so made for Torbay, where the prince again ordered the whole into the same position as at Dover and Calais. Upon his arrival at Torbay, the people on land, in great numbers, welcomed his highness with loud acclamations of joy.

Immediately after the prince gave two signals, that the admirals should come aboard him, which they did; and then ordered that the whole fleet should come to anchor and immediately land; and further ordered, that the admirals should stand out to sea, as a guard, as well as the smaller men-of-war, to attend and guard their landing; and also ordered six men-of-war to run in to guard Torbay.

The prince then put out a red flag at the mizen yard-arm, and provided to land in sixty boats, laid ready for this purpose; upon which the prince signified that general Mackay, with his six regiments of English and Scotch, should first land; and also that the little Porpus, with eighteen guns, should run aground to secure their landing; but there was no opposition, for the people bade us heartily welcome to England, and gave us all manner of provisions for our refreshment.

The fifth of November (a day never to be blotted out of the Englishman's heart) the prince caused to be landed above two thousand. On the sixth we landed as many horse and foot as we could possibly, and so continued the seventh: the country bringing in all manner of provision, both for man and horse, and were paid their price honestly for it.

The prince, the same day, commanded captain M—— to search the lady Cary's house, at Tor Abbey, for arms and horses; and so all other houses belonging to Roman Catholics. The lady, entertaining them civilly, said her husband was gone to Plymouth; they gave no further disturbance to the lady or her house. Nor shall it be forgotten, what was faithfully acted at this lady's house, immediately on our arrival at Torbay. There was a priest and some other folks with him, on a watch tower, to discover what our fleet was, whether French or Dutch; at last they discovered the white flags on some of our men-of-war; the ignorant priest concluded absolutely we were the French fleet, which, with great impatience, they had so long expected; and having laid up great provisions for their entertainment, the priest ordered all to the chapel to sing *Te Deum*, for the arrival of their supposed forces; but, being soon undeceived on our landing, we found the benefit of their provisions; and instead of *Votre serviteur Monsieur*, they were entertained with

Yeen Mynheer, can you Dutch spraken ? upon which they all ran away from the house, but (*except*) the lady and a few old servants.

The whole army, to the best of my knowledge, consisted of eighteen thousand horse, three thousand dragoons, and one thousand eight hundred foot, besides a thousand volunteer persons of quality, horse well equipped, and about five hundred horse for carriage.

November the eighth, the prince came from Chudleigh towards Exeter, with the greatest part of his army attending him, and about one of the clock, entered at the west gate of the city, welcomed by the loud acclamations of the people.

READING LXVI.

THE EXPEDITION OF THE PRINCE OF ORANGE.—

CONTINUED.

THE manner of the prince's public entrance into Exeter was as follows :—

- 1.—The right honourable the earl of M——, with two hundred horse ; the most part of which were English gentlemen richly mounted on Flanders' steeds, managed and used to war, in head pieces back and breast, bright armour.
- 2.—Two hundred blacks, brought from the plantations of the Netherlands in America, having on embroidered caps lined with white fur, and plumes of white feathers, to attend the horse.
- 3.—Two hundred Finlanders or Laplanders, in bears' skins, taken from the wild beasts they had slain, the common habit of that cold climate, with black armour, and broad flaming swords.
- 4.—Fifty gentlemen, and as many pages to attend and support the prince's banner, bearing the inscription of *God and the Protestant religion*.
- 5.—Fifty led horses, all managed (*trained*) and brought up to the wars, with two grooms to each horse.

- 6.—After these rode the prince on a milk white palfrey, armed *cap-a-pee* (*complete from head to foot*), a plume of white feathers on his head, all in bright armour, and forty-two footmen running by him.
- 7.—After his highness, followed, likewise on horseback, two hundred gentlemen and pages.
- 8.—Three thousand Switzers (*Swiss*) with fuzees.
- 9.—Five hundred volunteers, each two led horses.
- ↓ 10.—His captain and guards, six hundred, armed *cap-a-pee*.

The rest of the army brought up the rear.

That night the prince lay at the deanery, having before ordered the advanced guard to march to Clistheath, and settled the quarters of the army; which was done so much to the content and satisfaction of the inhabitants in and about the city, and such just payments made for what the soldiers had, and such civil behaviour among them, without swearing or any other licentiousness, as is common among some armies, that it is admiration to behold. I am sure, sir, I was an eye-witness of the whole order, and, when we marched away from the city, their joy was turned into dulness and cloudiness.

On the ninth, the prince commanded Dr. Burnet to order the priest-vicars of the cathedral not to pray for the prince of Wales, and to make use of no other prayer for the king but what is in the second service (*the communion*), which they refused to observe till they were forced and very severely threatened, the bishop and the dean being then gone from the city.

About twelve this day, notice was given to the canons and all the vicars choral, and singing lads, to attend in the cathedral immediately, for that the prince would be there; and Dr. Burnet ordered them, as soon as the prince entered into the quire (*choir*) they shall sing *Te Deum*, which was observed. The prince sat in the bishop's chair, and all his great officers attended on him. After *Te Deum* was sung, Dr. Burnet, in a seat under the pulpit, read aloud the prince's declaration (*manifesto*) and reasons for this his expedition; when this was over, the prince returned to the deanery.

The baggage was many days bringing from Torbay, but the ammunition, both arms for foot and horse, and the artillery, were brought into the Topsham road, and there,

by boats and other carriages, landed; the field pieces were sent after the army at Clitheath, the brass cannon remaining some of them in Exon.

The greatest part of the army were ordered to march forward to Ottery and Honyton, and several parties were ordered to divers places in the county. One party was sent to the north of Devon for horses, which were bought at excessive rates (*prices*); from Roman Catholics they took horses without money, and many gentlemen, who might have had money for their horses, refused, as the bishop's son, and divers others.

On Sunday Dr. Burnet preached at the cathedral on this text, Psalm cviii. last verse, "*Through God we shall do valiantly; for he it is that shall tread down our enemies.*" Ferguson preached in the presbyterian meeting house, but was fain to force his way with his sword up to the pulpit, for even the old presbyter himself could not away with (*suffer*) the breath of his brother Ferguson in his diocese; his text was in Psalm cxiv. "*Who will rise up for me against evil doers.*" I heard one of that gang say, that his discourse came very much under the lash of the 25th of Edward the Third. He is not much regarded by any of the prince's retinue.

Sir William W——, who had been at Ford with the prince, to see Sir William C——, were both refused to be seen of him. One Major M—— and Sir William —— were in commission to make new levies, which was carried on vigorously, and many enlisted under them; but Sir W——, it seems, began to use an old trade of taking money for quarters. Complaint was made thereof to the prince, and they were discarded (*sent away*), and the men disbanded to seek for new officers. But Sir Will. —— does continue under the prince's protection.

The prince was here above three days before any appearance of gentry came, insomuch that the great officers began to wonder that the prince should be invited into England by them, and not to appear to the prince's assistance; but this consternation was soon over, when a considerable body of the gentry came in to him. Some that were for taking off the test and penal laws, they have not appeared as yet. So that now the counties of Cornwall and Devon are in the possession of the gentry thereof, and the prince's army quite marched away.

Pendennis castle is managed by several gentlemen, who take their turns. Plymouth fort is declared for the prince's service, by the earl of B——, who, it seems, was to have been poisoned by throwing white mercury (*arsenic*) over a leg of mutton (appointed as one dish for his supper) instead of flour ; for that and some other reasons he secured the Lord H——, turned out all the papist soldiers, and has taken the country soldiers into the fort.

Since which there is an association among the gentlemen, worded much after that of my Lord Shaftesbury's.

Mr. Seymour being made governor of Exeter, and the Lord Mordaunt in his absence, there are new levies raising every day, so that this city is almost full of these new regiments, which are hourly disciplining by officers and old soldiers left here by the prince. All their arms are the prince's, and I am told he brought with him as many as will set out (*furnish*) twenty thousand, both horse and foot. I am apt to believe this to be true, having seen most of what has been landed. All the vessels that brought up the ammunition, &c. are returned again to Torbay, under the guard of the principal men of war, a squadron of which lies now in the sound of Plymouth, and saluted each other with many cannon from the fort and the fleet.

On Sunday last, there was a report that the twenty thousand French were landed at Porlock in this county, upon which the whole country rose with pikes, spits, scythes, and what weapons they could get, and made away for Exeter, but it proved a false alarm ; for there were two small French ships driven by the Dutch fleet ashore, and the French quitted their vessels and went on land, and some were killed, and others sent hither. So that now they are pretty quiet again ; but it has given that advantage to the commissioned officers, who are to raise new levies, to pick and choose amongst them whom they please. I shall now return again to the prince : when his highness left Exeter, on Wednesday, Nov. 21, he marched with his own guards, attended by a great many of the gentry, both of Somersetshire and Devon, to St. Mary and Ottery, where he dined ; after which, he marched to Axminster, where he continued four days ; from thence to Crookhorn, where he tarried (*stopped*) only one night ; from thence to Sherborne, where his

highness was splendidly entertained by the Lord D—— ; from whence he went to Wincanton, where he lodged at the house of one Mr. Churchill, a merchant ; and it is credibly reported, designs for Oxford. Sir, I have given you the best account I can of this great affair, and I am with all due respect, &c. N. N.

Wincanton, 1st December, 1688.

A further Account of the Prince's Army, in a Letter sent from Oxon, dated Nov. 24.

Had I not insensibly overslipped my time the last post, you had received this then. When I came here, I endeavoured to inform myself, after the best manner I could, as to the number and quality of the prince's army ; and all generally concluded them to be about thirty thousand, all picked men, and many of them personally present at the siege of Buda. This I am certain of, that they appeared to be men resolute, well disciplined, and stout, of an extraordinary stature, and their arms suitable, muskets, swords, and pikes, being far larger than any I ever yet saw ; and notwithstanding the streets were thronged almost as thick as yours on a lord mayor's day, yet it was even a rarity to see one of them shorter than six foot ; and some of them were, I am confident, six foot and a quarter, if not six foot and a half, in height ; so that were it lawful to trust in an arm of flesh, they might have some cause to presume ; but the tenor of their words was otherwise ; their civil deportment and their honestly paying for what they have (and the strictness of their discipline hinders them from being otherwise), winning not a little the affections of the countrymen, who daily resort thither, forty or fifty in a gang, to be enlisted. My lord Mordaunt's regiment was soon completed, which, with two others, was raised and maintained at the charge of the gentry of this county, of which Edward Seymour, esq. is by the prince made governor. During his highness's stay here, which was till last Wednesday, there appeared a court most splendid, composed not only of foreign, but of many of the English, nobility and gentry, which came hither to wait on his highness since his arrival, of both ranks, upwards to the number of sixty, all mighty gallant in their equipage, each striving thereby to add to the glory of their design. The gentry of these parts first

seemed slow in their advances to serve the prince ; but, as soon as the ice was broken by captain Barrington, the majority soon followed his steps, and have entered into an association. It is admiration to consider the vast magazine of all warlike utensils brought hither by the prince's army, their baggage having for a fortnight together been continually landing, and yet not fully ended ; were it not for the badness of the roads, as I was informed by a private sentinel, they could draw into the field an artillery of above two hundred pieces. But the greatest curiosity I yet saw was a bridge of boats ; such as I conceive the Imperialists used to pass over the Danube and the Saave with, which was, for the speedy conveyance of their carriages, laid over the river in two or three hours, and afterwards as soon removed ; not to mention a smith's forge or shop, curiously contrived in a waggon ; or another contrivance, the foot carry with them to keep off the horse, which, in their manner, may well yield the service of a pike.

There hath been lately driven into Dartmouth, and since taken, a French vessel, loaded altogether with images, and knives of a very large proportion ; in length, nineteen inches, and in breadth, two inches and a half ; what they were designed for, God only knows.

Yours, &c.

READING LXVII.

PROGRESS OF THE PRINCE OF ORANGE, ABDICATION OF KING JAMES II.

ALL England was now in commotion. Lord Delamere took arms in Cheshire, the earl of Danby seized York, the earl of Bath, governor of Plymouth, declared for the prince, the earl of Devonshire made a like declaration in Derby. The nobility and gentry of Nottinghamshire embraced the same cause ; and every day there appeared some effect of that universal combination into which the nation had entered against the measures of the king. Even those who took not the field against him, were able to embarrass and confound his counsels ; a petition for a free parliament was signed by twenty-four bishops and

peers of the greatest distinction, and was presented to the king. No one thought of opposing or resisting the invader.

But the most dangerous symptom was the disaffection which, from the general spirit of the nation, not from any particular reason, had crept into the army. The officers seemed all disposed to prefer the interests of their country and of their religion to those principles of honour and fidelity, which are commonly esteemed the most sacred ties by men of that profession. Lord Colchester, son of the earl of Rivers, was the first officer that deserted to the prince; and he was attended by a few of his troops. Lord Lovelace made a like effort; but was intercepted by the militia under the duke of Beaufort, and taken prisoner. Lord Cornbury, son of the earl of Clarendon, was more successful; he attempted to carry over three regiments of cavalry; and he actually brought a considerable part of them to the prince's quarters. Several officers of distinction informed Feversham, the general, that they could not, in conscience, fight against the prince of Orange. Lord Churchill, afterwards the great duke of Marlborough, had been raised from the rank of a page, had been invested with a high command in the army, had been created a peer, and had owed his whole fortune to the king's favour; yet even he could resolve, during the present extremity, to desert his unhappy master, who had ever reposed entire confidence in him. The following is his letter to James on this occasion.

"Sir—Since men are seldom suspected of sincerity, when they act contrary to their interests; and though my dutiful behaviour to your majesty in the worst of times, (for which I acknowledge my poor services much overpaid) may not be sufficient to incline you to a charitable interpretation of my actions; yet I hope, the great advantages I enjoy under your majesty, which I can never expect in any other change of government, may reasonably convince your majesty and the world that I am actuated by a higher principle, when I offer that violence to my inclination and interest, as to desert your majesty at a time when your affairs seem to challenge (*demand*) the strictest obedience from all your subjects, much more from one who lies under the greatest personal obligations to your majesty. This, sir, could proceed from nothing

but the inviolable dictates of my conscience, and necessary concern of my religion (which no good man can oppose) and with which I am instructed, nothing ought to come in competition (*rivalship*); heaven knows with what partiality my dutiful opinion of your majesty hath hitherto represented those unhappy designs which inconsiderate and self-interested men have framed against your majesty's true interests and the Protestant religion. But as I can no longer join with such to give a pretence by conquest to bring them into effect, so I will always, with the hazard of my life and fortune (so much your majesty's due), endeavour to preserve your royal person and lawful rights with all the tender concern and dutiful respect that becomes, sir, your majesty's most dutiful and most obliged subject and servant."

Lord Churchill carried with him the duke of Grafton, natural son of the late king, colonel Berkeley, and some troops of dragoons. This conduct was a signal sacrifice to public virtue of every duty in private life; and required, ever after, the most upright, disinterested, and public-spirited behaviour, to render it justifiable.

The king had arrived at Salisbury, the head quarters of his army, when he received this fatal intelligence. That prince, though a severe enemy, had ever appeared a warm, steady, and sincere friend; and he was extremely shocked with this, as with many other instances of ingratitude, to which he was now exposed. There remained none in whom he could confide. As the whole army had discovered symptoms of discontent, he concluded it full of treachery; and being deserted by those whom he had most favoured and obliged, he no longer expected that others would hazard their lives in his service. During this distraction and perplexity, he embraced a sudden resolution, of drawing off his army, and retiring towards London: a measure which could only serve to betray his fears, and provoke further treachery.

But Churchill had prepared a still more mortal blow for his distressed benefactor. His lady and he had an entire ascendant (*influence*) over the family of prince George of Denmark, (who had married the princess Anne, daughter of James II., and afterwards queen of England): and the time now appeared seasonable for overwhelming the unhappy monarch, who was already staggering with

the violent shocks which he had received. Andover was the first stage of James's retreat towards London ; and there prince George, together with the young duke of Ormond, sir George Huet, and some other persons of distinction, deserted him in the night time, and retired to the prince's camp. No sooner had this news reached London, than the princess Anne, pretending fear of the king's displeasure, withdrew herself in company with the bishop of London and lady Churchill. She fled to Nottingham ; where the earl of Dorset received her with great respect, and the gentlemen of the country quickly formed a troop for her protection. When the first intelligence of this event was conveyed to James, and when he found himself abandoned in his utmost distress by a child, and a virtuous child, whom he had ever regarded with the most tender affection, he cried out, in the extremity of his agony, " God help me, my own children have forsaken me ! " It is indeed singular, that a prince, whose chief blame consisted in imprudences and misguided principles, should be exposed, from religious antipathy (*hatred*), to such treatment as even Nero, Domitian, or the most enormous tyrants that have disgraced the records of history, never met with from their friends and family.

So violent were the prejudices which at this time prevailed, that this unhappy father, who had been deserted by his favourite child, was believed, upon her disappearing, to have put her to death ; and it was fortunate that the truth was timely discovered, otherwise the populace, even the king's guards themselves, might have been engaged, in revenge, to commence a massacre of the priests and catholics.

The king's fortune now exposed him to the contempt of his enemies ; and his behaviour was not such as could gain him the esteem of his friends and adherents. Unable to resist the torrent, he preserved not presence of mind in yielding to it ; but seemed in this emergency (*crisis*) as much depressed with adversity, as he had before been vainly elated (*overjoyed*) with prosperity. He called a council of all the peers and prelates who were in London, and followed their advice in issuing writs for a new parliament, and in sending Halifax, Nottingham, and Godolphin, as commissioners to treat with the prince of Orange. But these were the last acts of royal authority

which he exerted. He even^{***} hearkened to imprudent counsel, by which he was prompted to desert the throne, and to gratify his enemies beyond what their fondest hopes could have promised them.

The queen observing the fury of the people, and knowing how much she was the object of general hatred, was struck with the deepest terror, and began to apprehend a parliamentary impeachment (*accusation*), from which, she was told, the queens of England were not exempted (*free*). The popish courtiers, and, above all, the priests, were aware that they should be the first sacrifice, and that their perpetual banishment was the smallest penalty (*punishment*) they must expect from national resentment. They were therefore desirous of carrying the king along with them; whose presence, they knew, would still be some resource and protection to them in foreign countries, and whose restoration, if it ever happened, would again reinstate them in power and authority. The general defection (*falling off*) of the Protestants made the king regard the Catholics as his only subjects on whose counsel he could rely; and the fatal catastrophe (*end*) of his father afforded them a plausible (*apparently right*) reason for making him apprehend a like fate. The great difference of circumstances was not, during men's present distractions, sufficiently weighed (*considered*). Even after the people were inflamed by a long civil war, the execution of Charles I. could not be deemed a national deed; it was perpetrated by a fanatical army, pushed on by a daring and enthusiastical leader; and the whole kingdom had ever entertained, and did still entertain, a violent abhorrence against that enormity. The situation of public affairs, therefore, no more resembled what it was forty years before, than the prince of Orange, either in birth, character, fortune, or connexions, could be supposed a parallel to Cromwell.

The emissaries of France, and among the rest, Barillon, the French ambassador, were busy about the king; and they had entertained a very false notion, which they instilled into him, that nothing would more certainly retard the public settlement, and beget universal confusion, than his deserting the kingdom. The prince of Orange had, with good reason, embraced a contrary opinion; and he deemed (*considered*) it extremely difficult to find expe-

dients (*contrivances*) for securing the nation, so long as the king kept possession of the crown. Actuated, therefore, by this public motive, and no less, we may well presume, by private ambition, he was determined to use every expedient which might intimidate the king, and make him quit that throne which he himself was alone enabled to fill. He declined a personal conference with James's commissioners, and sent the earls of Clarendon and Oxford to treat with them ; the terms which he proposed implied almost a present participation of the sovereignty ; and he stopped not a moment the march of his army towards London.

READING LXVIII.

PROGRESS OF THE PRINCE OF ORANGE.—ABDICATION OF JAMES II.

THE news which the king received from all quarters served to continue the panic into which he had fallen, and which his enemies expected to improve to their advantage. Colonel Copel, deputy-governor of Hull, made himself master of that important fortress ; and threw into prison lord Langdale, the governor, a Catholic ; together with lord Montgomery, a nobleman of the same religion. The town of Newcastle received lord Lumley, and declared for the prince of Orange and a free parliament. The duke of Norfolk, lord-lieutenant of the county of that name, engaged it in the same measure.

The king, every moment alarmed more and more by these proofs of a general disaffection, not daring to repose trust in any but those who were exposed to more danger than himself, precipitately embraced the resolution of escaping into France ; and he sent off beforehand the queen and the infant prince, under the conduct of count Lauzun, an old favourite of the French monarch. He himself disappeared in the night-time, attended only by sir Edward Hales, and made the best of his way to a ship which waited for him near the mouth of the river. As if this measure had not been the most grateful to his enemies, of any that he could adopt, he had carefully con-

cealed his intention from all the world ; and nothing could equal the surprise which seized the city, the court, and the kingdom, upon the discovery of this strange event. The more effectually to involve every thing in confusion, the king appointed no one, who should, in his absence, exercise any part of the administration ; he threw the great seal into the river ; and he recalled all those writs which had been issued for the election of the new parliament.

By this temporary dissolution of government, the populace were masters ; and there was no disorder which during their present ferment might not be dreaded from them. They rose in a tumult, and destroyed all the Roman Catholic chapels. They even attacked and rifled the houses of the Florentine envoy and Spanish ambassador, where many of the Catholics had lodged their most valuable effects. Jeffreys, the chancellor, that infamous judge, whose cruelties are proverbial, had disguised himself, and was endeavouring to fly the kingdom, when being discovered by them, he was so maltreated (*ill-used*), that he died soon after. Even the army, which should have suppressed these tumults, would, it was apprehended, serve rather to increase the general disorder. Feversham had no sooner heard of the king's flight, than he disbanded the troops in the neighbourhood, and without either disarming or paying them, let them loose to prey upon the country.

In this extremity, the bishops and peers who were in town, being the only remaining authority of the state, thought proper to assemble and to interpose for the preservation of the community. They chose the marquis of Halifax speaker ; they gave directions to the mayor and aldermen for keeping the peace of the city ; they issued orders, which were readily obeyed, to the fleet, the army, and all the garrisons ; and they made applications to the prince of Orange, whose enterprise they highly applauded, and whose success they joyfully congratulated.

While every one from principle, interest, or animosity (*hatred*), turned his back on the unhappy king, who had abandoned his own cause, the unwelcome news arrived, that he had been seized by the populace at Feversham, as he was making his escape in disguise ; that he had been much abused, till he was known, but that the gentry had

then interposed and protected him, though they still refused to consent to his escape. This intelligence threw all parties into confusion. The prince sent Zuylesteyn with orders that the king should approach no nearer than Rochester, but the message came too late. He was already arrived in London, where the populace, moved by compassion for his unhappy fate, and actuated by their own levity (*inconstancy*), had received him with shouts and acclamations.

During the king's abode at Whitehall, little attention was paid to him by the nobility or any person of distinction. They had, all of them, been previously disgusted on account of his blind partiality to the Catholics; and they knew that they were now become criminal in his eyes, by their late public applications to the prince of Orange. He himself showed not any symptom of spirit, nor discovered any intention of resuming the reins of government, which he had once thrown aside. His authority was now plainly expired; and as he had exercised his power, while possessed of it, with very precipitate and haughty counsels, he relinquished it by a despair equally rash and pusillanimous (*cowardly*).

Nothing remained for the now ruling powers but to deliberate how they should dispose of his person, and it was determined to force him to retire into France, a measure which, of himself, he seemed sufficiently inclined to embrace. The king, having sent lord Feversham on a civil message to the prince, desiring a conference for an accommodation in order to the public settlement, that nobleman was arrested, under pretence of his coming without a passport. The Dutch guards were ordered to take possession of Whitehall, where James then resided, and to displace the English, &c. Halifax, Shrewsbury, and Delamere, brought a message from the prince, which they delivered to the king in bed after midnight, ordering him to leave his palace next morning, and to depart for Ham, a seat of the duchess of Lauderdale. He desired permission, which was easily granted, of retiring to Rochester, a town near the sea coast. It was perceived that the artifice had taken effect, and that the king, terrified with this harsh treatment, had renewed his former resolution of leaving the kingdom.

He lingered, however, some days at Rochester, under

the protection of a Dutch guard, and seemed still desirous of an invitation to keep possession of the throne. He was undoubtedly sensible, that, as he had at first trusted too much to his people's loyalty, and, by confiding in their submission, had offered the greatest violence to their principles and prejudices ; so had he, at last, on finding his disappointment, gone too far in the other extreme, and hastily supposed them destitute of all sense of duty and allegiance. But observing that the church, the nobility, the city, the country, all concurred in neglecting him and leaving him to his own counsels, he submitted to his melancholy fate ; and being urged by earnest letters from the queen, he privately embarked on board a frigate which waited for him, and arrived safely at Ambletense, in Picardy, whence he hastened to St. Germain's. Louis XIV. received him with the highest generosity, sympathy, and regard ; a conduct which, more than his most signal victories, contributes to the honour of that great monarch.

Thus ended the reign of a prince, whom, if we consider his personal character rather than his public conduct, we may safely pronounce more unfortunate than criminal. He had many of those qualities which form a good citizen ; even some of those which, had they not been swallowed up in bigotry and arbitrary principles, serve to compose a good sovereign. In domestic life his conduct was irreproachable, and entitled to our approbation—severe, but open in his enmities, steady in his counsels, diligent in his schemes, brave in his enterprises, faithful, sincere, and honourable in his dealings with all men ; such was the character with which the duke of York mounted the throne. In that high station, his frugality of public money was remarkable, his industry exemplary, his application to naval affairs successful, his encouragement to trade judicious, his jealousy of national honour laudable (*praiseworthy*). What then was wanting to make him an excellent sovereign ?—a due regard and affection to the religion and constitution of his country. Had he been possessed of this essential (*necessary*) quality, even his middling talents, aided by so many virtues, would have rendered his reign honourable and happy. When it was wanting, every excellency which he possessed became dangerous and pernicious to his kingdoms.

by Louis from this period, at which he was only twenty-three years of age, prove that nature had endowed him royally with her gifts, his application to business, and the manner in which he performed his high functions, fully exonerate Mazarin from the reproach of having purposely neglected his education. He truly possessed what may be called the education of a king; without being practically acquainted with literature or the arts, he felt them and appreciated them fully, and nothing escaped him that could contribute to the grandeur and magnificence of his reign.

Character is developed by circumstance. The king, naturally proud, and passionately fond of glory, soon discovered to what a degree he was determined to be respected in foreign courts. In 1662, his ambassador at London, having been insulted by that of Spain, who disputed the precedence with him, Louis immediately threatened his father-in-law, Philip IV., with immediate hostilities, unless he repaired the insult. The king of Spain had the prudence or weakness to yield, and an ambassador extraordinary, sent expressly upon the occasion to Louis, declared publicly that the ministers of Spain did not compete the precedence with those of France. Even pope Alexander VII. was compelled to humble himself before the young monarch. In consequence of a dispute, the papal troops had attacked the residence of the marquis de Créquy, the French ambassador at Rome, and had killed some of his servants. Satisfaction was demanded, but the papal court wishing to gain time, Louis immediately seized Avignon; upon which, his holiness sent his nephew, cardinal Chigi, to ask pardon of his majesty, which was granted upon condition of the Corsican guard which had committed the insult being disbanded, and a column being erected in commemoration of the event. Louis was anxious for an opportunity of signaling himself by bold and noble enterprises, and he was unfortunately but too fond of that kind of glory which costs humanity so many tears—the glory of a conqueror. This spirit soon manifested itself. Upon the death of Philip IV. in 1667, he found various pretexts for declaring war; and, after having established the necessary magazines for his troops, entered Flanders accompanied by the great marshal Turenne, and in a single campaign rendered himself master of almost the whole of that coun-

try. This and other successes alarmed the other powers, and a coalition being formed between England, Holland, and Sweden, in favour of Spain, Louis thought it prudent to prevent the probable consequences of this triple (*three-fold*) alliance by offering peace to Spain. It was signed at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1668, Louis agreeing to restore la Franche-comté; but he retained all his conquests in Flanders.

Excessively jealous of his glory, Louis never forgave the Dutch for crossing (*opposing*) his designs; but he disdained to demand satisfaction of the States of Holland. Resolved to subjugate that country, he gained over to his views our profligate and infamous Charles II., and also succeeded in detaching Sweden from the triple alliance. All his measures having been taken with as much energy as secrecy, war was declared and commenced in 1672. More than two hundred thousand men were destined to conquer a little state, which could scarcely assemble above twenty-five thousand soldiers in its defence. The king entered it, accompanied by his brother, the prince of Condé, Turenne, Luxembourg, De Vauban, Louvois; in short, by all his most renowned generals.

READING LXX.

LOUIS XIV.—CONTINUED.

THE successes of this campaign were rapid. Three provinces and forty fortified places were conquered in a few months. Amsterdam almost beheld the French at its gates. The Dutch sued for peace, but the victorious Louis, proud of his conquests and listening only to adulation, was far from dreaming of those reverses which he was himself fated to experience within a short time, in this very country. The conditions which he proposed were such as no free people could accept; and the Dutch, driven to despair, thought only of saving the republic, or of burying themselves amid its ruins. The dikes which prevented the encroachments of the ocean were removed,

and every thing was cheerfully sacrificed to the preservation of their liberties. These exertions have already been described in a former Reading.

In 1673 the emperor Leopold, the king of Spain, and the greater part of the princes of the empire, alarmed at the conquests of Louis XIV., united themselves to Holland in order to arrest a torrent which seemed to threaten entire Europe. The king of England was even forced by his parliament to make peace. Louis had the mortification of being compelled to abandon the three provinces which he had just, so rapidly, subjugated. The two succeeding years, however, found him more fortunate, excepting the death of the great Turenne; and in 1678 the treaty of Nimègue secured to him on the part of Spain, Franche-comté and a great part of Flanders. Louis was now at the acme (*height*) of his glory, and in France his courtiers gave him the surname of Great.

Notwithstanding a violent quarrel which Louis had with the pope, Innocent XI., on account of the revenues of the vacant bishoprics, he was far from abandoning a religion which, more than any other, favours arbitrary authority: and he therefore still continued to signalize his zeal for catholicism, of which he gave the greatest proof by the famous *Dragonnades*.

The end of the triumphs of Louis now approached. This monarch, who had become devout, and was always vain, had given his unlimited confidence to a woman blinded by her zeal, and who, thinking to deliver her prince from the tyranny of the passions, precipitated him into that of bigotry. This was madame de Maintenon. In the year 1685, nearly two years after the death of his queen, Louis privately married her at Fontainebleau: a marriage which, although not publicly announced, was sufficiently proclaimed by that atrocious edict, dictated by hypocritical and fanatical priests, revoking the famous edict of Nantz, the fruit of the sagacity of Henry IV., and which even the sanguinary Richelieu had respected. The consequence of this abominable persecution was that in a few years France lost more than three millions of its citizens. This measure caused the French king's name to be execrated (*curse*d) throughout Europe. Every tongue exclaimed against the violence of a tyrant, who, by one act of despotism, deprived thousands of families of

their property, and forced them to seek for liberty and the means of subsistence far from their native land.

It was now that the haughtiness of Louis, his excessive power, his confiscations, and, above all, his religious proscriptions, had raised him as many enemies as there were princes in Europe. But the most dangerous of all, whether by his excessive ambition, or his profound policy, was William, prince of Orange, at this time despised by the French, on account of his want of good fortune in war. But he soon taught them of what his genius was capable. He had been the principal mover of the famous league of Augsburg in 1686, and which was concluded at Vienna the following year. The emperor and the greatest part of the empire, the king of Spain, Holland, the duke of Saxony, and almost all Italy, united against France. Innocent XI., as haughty as Louis himself, seconded by his intrigues those of the Dutch prince; so that Europe saw with astonishment a pope and a protestant prince working, with equal zeal, at the abasement of the most Christian king.

It was not, however, till the year 1689, that Louis began the war openly against England. In that year, James II., who had voluntarily abdicated the British throne, took refuge in France. Louis XIV. went to meet him with all his family, and an equipage consisting of one hundred carriages drawn by six horses each. He assigned to his new guests the chateau of St. Germain-en-Laié for their residence, where they were treated in a manner suitable to their rank. Holland and Spain declared themselves against James.

Germany, the Low Countries, and the frontiers of Spain and Italy, were at one and the same time the theatre of war; marshals Luxembourg, Catinat, Lorges, and Noailles, gained, during the years 1690, 1691, 1692, 1693, and 1694, the most brilliant victories, but they were productive of no results: affairs rested in nearly the same state. The slaughter of his species, the ruin of cities, the devastation of provinces, and the depopulation of nations, were the only consequences of the exploits of Louis the Great.

But, notwithstanding his victories, he appeared no longer invincible. In 1692, his navy had experienced a serious defeat off La Hogue, in which he lost fourteen

large vessels. In 1695, king William retook Namur in the face of a French army of eighty thousand men, and the English fleets bombarded Dieppe, Havre, St. Malo, Calais, and Dunkirk. Louis, at length, having been made to feel the scourge of war, desired peace, and obtained it by the sacrifice of all the conquests he had made in Spain and Flanders, by the acknowledgment of William as the lawful king of England, and the abandonment of James II.

This peace was interrupted by the war of the Spanish succession. Charles II., king of Spain, died on the 1st of November, 1700; he nominated by will for his successor, the duke of Anjou, second son of the Dauphin of France, and though at first England and Holland and the duke of Savoy appeared to recognise Philip V., these three powers soon armed against him. Upon the death of William III. of England, his successor, Queen Anne, continued the same policy and prosecuted the war with vigour, and on every side a dreadful storm appeared ready to burst over France. The results were fatal to the pride and ambition of Louis. The victories of prince Eugene and Marlborough forced that monarch to sue for peace, offering to recognise the archduke as king of Spain, and to supply funds for dethroning his own grandson. At length, in 1713, the treaty of Utrecht was signed. Philip V. retained the throne of Spain, but renounced all claim to that of France. The duke of Savoy had Sicily with the title of king. Flemish Flanders was left to the emperor; and several towns were given to the Dutch by way of barriers. England kept Gibraltar and the island of Minorca: the French were compelled to demolish and fill up the port of Dunkirk, which had cost them immense sums. Such was the end of this unfortunate war, which had reduced Louis XIV. to the last extremity, despoiled him of several provinces, and shut out his grandson from the succession to the throne of France.

The last years of the life of Louis XIV. were as melancholy as the first ones had been brilliant. Madame de Maintenon, wearied out with reiterated, but fruitless attempts to interest him by means of operas, full of fulsome adulation, at length exclaimed: "What a torment it is to try to amuse a man no longer capable of amusement!"

On his death-bed, although he could dissemble neither

the indiscretions of his youth, nor the evils which his pride and ambition had caused, he yet preserved all the firmness of his character. Addressing the young prince, his successor, he said, "Endeavour to preserve peace with your neighbours; I have been too fond of war; imitate me neither in that nor in the foolish expenses in which I have indulged. Relieve the miseries of your people, and do what unfortunately I have not had the power of doing." He then bade adieu, in the most affecting manner, to all the princes and princesses, and to the officers of his household; then looking at madame de Maintenon: "My consolation in quitting you," said he to her, "is the hope that we shall soon meet again in the world to come." She made no reply to this adieu, which appeared to displease her much, but set off immediately for St. Cyr. Louis expired on the 1st of September, 1715, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, and the seventy-third of his reign.

READING LXXI.

LOUIS XIV. OF FRANCE.—CONCLUDED.

IN order to complete our sketch of this celebrated monarch, the present Reading will consist of a description given of him, when in the fifty-second year of his age, by a person of quality at his court. It is contained in a letter, written in Italian, to a cardinal at Rome, who had desired a particular and minute account of the French monarch:—

Your eminence has requested me to give you a faithful portrait of the greatest monarch of Europe, and notwithstanding my temerity in undertaking to gratify your wish, the desire of obeying your commands is, with me, paramount (*superior*) to every other consideration. I shall not expatiate (*treat at length*) either upon the power of this monarch, or upon the good fortune which has invariably attended all his enterprises. [*This was written before the commencement of Louis's reverses.*] I shall find theme (*subject*) sufficient in his qualities, virtues, and personal accomplishments.

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The king has entered upon his fifty-second year, is in good health, and extremely robust ; but is sometimes subject to slight fits of the gout. His figure is very handsome and prepossessing, his complexion brown, his features open and manly, his forehead lofty, his eyes large and black, and his look that of sweetness tempered with severity. His physiognomy is commanding and warlike, his mien grave and majestic, his walk noble and imposing. His aspect is replete with a gentle majesty, which inspires both love and awe, and gains him the affections of every one, but more especially of such as have the happy and envied privilege of approaching him. He listens like a master, speaks as a father, and preserves such equanimity (*evenness of mind*), that neither sorrow, joy, nor anger have any empire over him. Naturally inclined to clemency, which he justly regards as one of the greatest of royal virtues, he will allow himself to relent, but without any compromise of his firmness ; and, while anxious for the due execution of justice, he is, notwithstanding, desirous of avoiding the shedding of blood.

Fortifications, architecture, hunting, billiards, walking, gardens and flowers, are his most ordinary amusements.

He is fond of history and of good books upon all kinds of subjects ; but it is seldom that he has sufficient leisure to apply himself seriously to reading.

Admiring the fidelity of the canine species, he has great delight in fondling and playing with dogs. Never has there been any sovereign who has evinced more magnificence in furniture, dress, horses, equipages, hounds, jewels, and buildings.

His table is always splendid, and is distinguished as much by the abundance and delicacy of the dishes, as by the perfect order and judicious arrangement of the service.

If he has promised any favour, he always recollects it, but only to bestow it, and bestows it only to forget it ; and what appears particularly difficult to accomplish, he enhances the favour both by the manner and the occasion of giving it.

He lends a favourable ear to praise, because he is sensible of the worth of it, and he loves and cherishes glory, because his own deeds have deserved the immortality of renown.

Indefatigable (*unwearied*) both physically and morally, neither the heat of summer nor the cold of winter can suspend the prosecution of his enterprises.

He is as punctual in his attendance at the council board as he is exact in all his other appointments, and no prince has ever worked so hard for the good and aggrandizement of his dominions. Equally well acquainted with the theory of jurisprudence as with that of war, his answers, whether to a general or a judge, are characterized by a perfect knowledge of the subject.

An idea may be formed of his liberality as well as power, by the pensions he bestows both at home and abroad. It is said that after any illness, he always presents his physician and chief surgeon with one hundred and fifty thousand crowns each.

He sets a great value upon secrecy, and is very jealous of its being strictly observed. He considers himself sufficiently remunerated for all the labour of application to the duties of a great monarch, by the success of his plans.

Always prompt to answer, he speaks with so much gentleness that his replies never disoblige, and no prince has ever better observed, than he, the laws of propriety and complaisance, nor preserved that affability of demeanour which is sure to please even those whose wishes it is impossible to gratify. In short, ever great in small things, he is never little in great ones.

When presiding in his council, he listens with so much condescension to the opinions and advice of the members composing it, that they are ever desirous of gratifying their monarch, by suggesting nothing but what may eminently contribute to the welfare and prosperity of his kingdom.

Ingratitude and treachery are held by him in such abhorrence that he cannot support the presence of such as have been guilty of them, whatever may be their rank or birth. Struck by that air of majesty which is natural to him, no one enters his presence without feeling a degree of respect approaching to awe; while no one retires from it, even when their petition has been refused, without a sentiment of admiration and delight.

He is fond of society, and would be less punctilious,

were he not convinced that with the French nation familiarity and respect are incompatible.

He generally dresses and takes his meals in public, converses familiarly with the courtiers around him, makes observations upon every thing, and with such quicksightedness, that when a new face presents itself, the monarch studies it, and having once known it, never forgets it.

Brave and incapable of fear, he too often exposes his person for his courage to be called in question ; and such is the value he sets upon valour, virtue, and ability, that he seeks them out, and rewards them, even among foreigners.

As nothing better discovers the genius and inclinations of men than their private life, I shall add to this portrait a few circumstances of the life of this monarch, which appear to me worthy of being recorded.

About four years ago, being dangerously ill, a courtier proposed to him to change the air. "I will do so very willingly," replied the king, "if you can point out to me any spot upon the earth where people never die."

On the first day that Namur was invested, in 1692, the ladies belonging to the chief families of the town sent a deputation to the king to ask him for passports ; their request was refused upon the plea of its not being customary. They sent a second request, to which the same answer was returned. "Well then," said they, "go and tell the king that we feel ourselves much honoured in surrendering as prisoners of war ;" and immediately they prepared to quit Namur with their children and female servants. Louis XIV. named one of the politest noblemen of his court to receive them with every attention, and to conduct them to some tents which had been pitched for them, and where they found all kinds of refreshment. The king's carriages were sent in the afternoon, and conveyed them to a neighbouring abbey, where they remained until the end of the siege.

Bontems, first valet-de-chambre, having one day asked the king for a favour in behalf of one of his friends, "When will you have done asking ?" said Louis to him. Bontems was thunderstruck. But his confusion did not last long, the king adding, with a smile, "asking for others and never for yourself.—The favour which you

apply for, on behalf of your friend, I bestow upon your son."

As the king was one day washing his feet, a valet-de-chambre, who held the wax light, let fall some of the melted wax upon his right foot. Louis merely said, "You might just as well have let it fall upon the floor."

A short time before the battle of Denain, which saved France, the king sent for marshal Villars, and thus addressed him, "You see our present situation ; we must either conquer or die. Seek out the enemy, and give them battle." "But, sire," said Villars, "it is your last army." "That is of no consequence," rejoined the king. "I do not require you to beat the enemy, but you must attack them. If the battle be lost, you will write me word, but to me alone. I will then mount my horse, and go through the streets of Paris, with your letter in my hand. I know what Frenchmen are ; I will bring you four hundred thousand men, and will bury myself with them under the ruins of the monarchy."

READING LXXII.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

ABOUT the middle of the sixteenth century, society had obtained a very high degree of perfection in Italy. Soon after that period the Italian states began to decline ; and the other European nations, then comparatively barbarous, to advance to refinement. Among these the French took the lead ; for although the Spanish nobility, during the reign of Charles V. and his immediate successors, were, perhaps, the most polished and enlightened set of men on this side of the Alps, the great body of the nation then was, as it still continues, sunk in ignorance and superstition. The secluded condition of the women also, both in Spain and Italy, was a further barrier (*obstacle*) against true politeness. That grand obstruction to elegance and pleasure was effectually removed in the Gallic kingdom (*France*) by Francis I. Anne of Bretagne,

wife of Charles VIII. and of Louis XII. had introduced the custom of the public appearance of ladies at the French court; Francis encouraged it, and by familiarizing the intercourse (*meeting together*) of the sexes, in many brilliant assemblies and gay circles, threw over the manners of the nation those bewitching graces that have so long attracted the admiration of Europe.

In this manner the influence of the fair sex went on increasing through succeeding reigns until that of Louis XIII., when it appears to have been at its height; almost all public matters being then conducted by women. A lady in her boudoir (*cabinet*) was the soul of the council. There she determined to fight, to negotiate, to embroil, or to accommodate matters with the court; and as love presided over all her consultations, secret aversions (*dislikes*) or attachments frequently prepared the way for the greatest events. A revolution in the heart of a woman, almost always announced a change in public affairs. The ladies, in fact, appeared openly at the head of factions, adorned with the ensigns of their party, visited the troops, and presided at councils of war.

But this excessive gallantry, which Anne of Austria had brought with her from Spain, and which was so contrary to the genius of the French nation, vanished with the other remains of barbarism, on the approach of the bright days of Louis XIV., when the glory of France was at its height, and the French language, literature, arts, and manners were perfected. Ease was then associated with elegance, taste with fashion, and grace with freedom. Men and women became reasonable beings, and the intercourse between the sexes a school of urbanity (*politeness*); where a mutual desire to please gave smoothness to the behaviour, and mutual esteem imparted delicacy to the mind and sensibility to the heart.

Nor were the improvements in manners, during the reign of Louis XIV. confined to the intercourse between the sexes, or to the habits of general politeness. Duels had long been permitted by the laws of all the European nations, and sometimes authorized by the magistrates, for terminating doubtful questions; so that the best blood in Christendom had been wantonly (*vainly*) spilled in these frivolous contests, which, towards the close of the 16th century, were scarcely less destructive than war itself.

This practice became discountenanced so as at length to be brought within such bounds, as are, in some respects, tolerable, for although duelling be alike pernicious and absurd, it has been attended by some beneficial effects. It has made men more respectful in their behaviour to each other, less ostentatious in conversation, and more tender of living characters, but especially of female reputation ; and the gentleness of manners introduced by this restraint, while it has contributed to social happiness, has also rendered duels themselves less frequent, by removing the causes of offence.

The progress of arts and literature, in France, kept pace with that of manners. As early as the reign of Francis I., a better taste in composition had been introduced. Rabelais and Montaigne were the fathers of French prose, while poetry was gradually polished by Marot, Ronsard, Malherbe, Voiture, and Balzac. The efforts of Richelieu to improve his language brought forward Corneille, Molière, Racine, Quinault, Boileau, La Fontaine, and all the fine writers who shed a lustre over the reign of Louis XIV. The same good taste extended itself to all the fine arts. Several magnificent edifices were raised in the most correct style of architecture ; sculpture was perfected by Girardon, of whose skill the mausoleum (*tomb*) of cardinal Richelieu is a lasting monument : Poussin equalled Raphael in some branches of painting, while Rubens and Vandyke displayed the glories of the Flemish school ; and Lulli set to excellent music the simple and passionate operas of Quinault. France and the neighbouring provinces, towards the latter part of the seventeenth century, were what Italy had been a century before, the favourite abodes of classic elegance.

Taste and politeness made a less rapid progress in other parts of Europe, during the period under review (*consideration*). Germany and the adjoining countries, from the league of Smalcalde to the peace of Westphalia, were perpetual scenes either of religious wars or religious disputes. But these disputes tended to enlighten the human mind, and those wars to invigorate (*strengthen*) the human character, as well as to perfect military science ; an advantage in itself by no means contemptible, inasmuch as that art is not only necessary to protect weakness against force, but is intimately connected with several others con-

ducive (*leading*) to the happiness of mankind. All the powers of the soul were raised and all the emotions (*feelings*) of the heart called forth. Germany produced consummate generals, sound politicians, deep (*learned*) divines (*theologians*), and even acute philosophers, before she made any advances in the belles lettres (*polite literature*).

In England, the reign of James I. was distinguished by the labours of many eminent authors both in prose and verse; but in the writings of many of them, a good taste was scarcely discernible. That propensity (*inclination*) to false wit and superfluous (*unnecessary*) ornament infected the whole nation. The pun was common in the pulpit, and the quibble was perpetrated from the throne. Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, however, Raleigh's History of the World, and the translation of the Bible now in use, are striking proofs of the improvement of our language and of the progress of English prose.

If we except the translation of Tasso by Fairfax, and some of the tragic scenes of Fletcher, the style of none of the poets of this reign can be mentioned with entire approbation. Jonson, though born with a vein of genuine humour, perfectly acquainted with the ancient classics, and possessed of sufficient taste to relish their beauties, was a rude mechanical writer.

During the tranquil part of the reign of Charles I. good taste began to gain ground. Charles himself was a competent (*sufficient*) judge of literature, a chaste writer, and a patron of the liberal arts. Vandyke was caressed at court, and Inigo Jones was encouraged to plan those public edifices which do so much honour to his memory; whilst Lawes and other eminent composers in the service of the king, set to manly music some of the finest English verses. But a spirit of fanaticism, which unfortunately incorporated and identified itself with patriotism, obstructed the progress of letters and prevented the arts from attaining the height to which they seemed to be hastening, or the manners from receiving the degree of polish which they must soon have acquired, in the brilliant assemblies and public festivals of two persons of such elegant accomplishments as were the king and his consort.

Some time after the restoration, the Royal Society was

founded ; and its members, in a few years, made many important discoveries in mathematics and natural philosophy, in which Wilkins, Wallis, and Boyle, had a great share. Nor were the other branches of science neglected ; both Hobbes and Shaftesbury distinguished themselves by opposite systems of philosophy, which they separately supported with equal ability, ingenuity, and argumentative power.

READING LXXIII.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.—CONCLUDED.

It is in philosophy that the English have particularly had the mastery over all other nations. Newton, surpassing all former astronomers, surveyed more fully, and established by demonstration, that harmonious system of the universe which had been discovered, or rather reproduced, by Copernicus. Newton was the first who discovered and demonstrated the great law of nature by which every particle of matter tends towards the centre, and all the planets are retained (*kept*) in their proper course. He was the first who truly beheld light ; before him we knew not what it was.

{ Nature and nature's laws lay hid in night ;
God said, "Let Newton be," and all was light.

His principles of the mathematics, which contain a system of natural philosophy entirely new and true, are founded on the discovery of what is called the calculation of infinities, or the infinitesimal calculus, discovered and executed by him at the age of twenty-four. This occasioned the observation of the learned Halley, "that it will never be permitted any mortal to approach nearer to the Deity."

"In Newton," says Hume, "this island may boast of having produced the greatest and rarest genius that ever rose for the ornament and instruction of the species. Cautious in admitting no principles but such as were founded on experiment ; but resolute to adopt every such principle, however new or unusual. From modesty, ignorant of his superiority above the rest of mankind ;

and hence less careful to accommodate his reasonings to common apprehensions; more anxious to merit than to acquire fame, he was, from these causes, long unknown to the world; but his reputation at last broke out with a lustre, which scarcely any writer, during his own lifetime, had ever before attained. While Newton seemed to draw off the veil from some of the mysteries of nature, he showed at the same time the imperfections of the mechanical philosophy; and thereby restored her ultimate secrets to that obscurity in which they ever did and ever will remain."

Numberless good geometricians and natural philosophers were at once improved by his discoveries, and encouraged to pursue the track pointed out to them. Bradley at length went so far as to discover the parallax of the fixed stars, at twelve millions of millions of miles distant from our globe.

Locke was the first to give a clear explanation of the human understanding, and to prove to demonstration that all our ideas are acquired by sensation and reflection, and consequently that we brought none into the world with us.

If we cast our eyes towards the north of Europe, we find the town of Dantzic to have produced Helvetius, the first astronomer whose well-directed observations made him correctly acquainted with the motions of the moon. In Holstein, Mercator was the forerunner of Newton in geometry, while Switzerland justly boasted of the two Bernouilli.

The famous Leibnitz was born at Leipsic. He was, perhaps, a man of the most universal learning in Europe; he was an historian, indefatigable in his inquiries; a profound civilian, who enlightened the study of the law by philosophy; a thorough metaphysician; a good latinist; and lastly, so excellent a mathematician, as to dispute with the great Newton the invention of the infinitesimal calculus, and to make it for some time doubtful which of them had the justest claim to the honour of that discovery.

This was then the golden age of geometry. Mathematicians sent frequent challenges to each other, that is, problems to solve. There never was a more universal correspondence kept up between philosophers than at

this period, and Leibnitz contributed not a little to encourage it. A republic of letters was insensibly established in Europe, in the midst of the most obstinate war, and the number of different religions; the arts and sciences, all of them, thus received mutual assistance from each other. Italy and Russia were united by the bonds of science, and natives of England, Germany, and France, went to study at Leyden. The famous physician Boerhaave was consulted at the same time by the pope and the czar of Muscovy (*Russia*).

Italy may justly boast in this age of the productions of Cabrera, Zappi, Filicaia, Maffei, and Metastasio.

During the reign of James I. the manners of the nation were agreeable to the monarchical government which prevailed; high family pride was predominant, and it was by a dignity and stateliness of behaviour that the nobility and gentry distinguished themselves from the common people.

The expenses of the great consisted in pomp, show, and a numerous retinue, rather than in convenience and true pleasure. The earl of Nottingham, in his embassy to Spain, was attended by 500 persons.

London at this time was almost entirely built of wood, and in every respect was certainly, by no means, a handsome city. The earl of Arundel first introduced the general practice of brick buildings.

James was not negligent of his navy. In five years preceding 1623 he built ten new ships, and expended fifty thousand pounds a-year on the fleet, besides the value of thirty-six thousand pounds in timber, which he annually gave from the royal forests.

Nine-tenths of the commerce of the kingdom consisted in woollen goods. The silk manufacture had no footing in England: but by James's direction, mulberry trees were planted and silk-worms introduced: the climate, however, seemed unfavourable to the success of this project.

What chiefly renders the reign of James memorable is the commencement of the English colonies in America. Peopled gradually from England by the necessitous and indigent, who at home increased neither wealth nor populousness, the colonies promoted the navigation, encouraged the industry, and even multiplied the inhabitants of their mother country.

The commerce and riches of England did never, during any period, increase so fast as from the revolution to the republic. The recovery or conquest of New York and the Jerseys was a considerable accession (*addition*) to the strength and security of the English colonies; and together with the settlement of Pennsylvania and Carolina, which was effected during the reign of Charles II., extended the English empire in America.

We learn from sir Josiah Child, that in 1688 there were on the 'Change more men worth ten thousand pounds, than there were in 1650 worth a thousand; and that five hundred pounds with a daughter was, in the latter period, deemed a larger portion than two thousand in the former; that gentlewomen, in those earlier times, thought themselves well clothed in a serge gown, which a chambermaid would, in 1688, be ashamed to be seen in; and that, besides the great increase of rich clothes, plate, jewels, and household furniture, coaches were in that time augmented a hundred fold.

The duke of Buckingham introduced, from Venice, the manufacture of glass and crystal into England. Prince Rupert was also an encourager of useful arts and manufactures: he himself was the inventor of etching.

The first law for erecting turnpikes was passed in 1662. The places of the turnpikes were Wadesmill, Caxton, and Stilton. In 1663 was passed the first law for allowing the exportation of foreign coin and bullion.

In 1677, the old law for burning heretics was repealed.

The first match which took place in England was one against time, which occurred in the year 1604, when John Lepton, a groom in the service of James I., undertook to ride five times between London and York, from Monday morning until Saturday night, and actually performed the task within five hours.

The earliest records of the turf in this country dated no further back than the reign of Charles II., who was extremely attached to this sport, and appointed regular races at Newmarket.

Coffee was first drunk in England by one Nathaniel Canopus, a native of Crete, and resident in Baliol College, Oxford, which he quitted in 1648.

James Farr, who kept the coffee-house, now the Rainbow, in Fleet-street, was in 1567 presented by the

Inquest of St. Dunstan's in the West, for making and selling a sort of liquor called *Coffee*, to the great nuisance and prejudice of the neighbourhood.

Tea, or Chaa, as it is called in some of the advertisements, *tcha* being the Chinese name, is supposed to have been brought into England from Holland, by lord Arlington in 1660 ; it was sold, at a still later date than the above, at 60s. per lb.

The first dye-house for scarlet in England was established in 1643, by a German named Kepler, at the village of Bow, near London.

The first museum in this country was formed towards the middle of the seventeenth century, by John Fradercant, who procured the objects of which it was composed from many parts of Europe, America, and the Levant.

The next one, in order of time, was Kemp's museum in the Haymarket, in the beginning of the eighteenth century : it was founded by Mr. John Conyers.

The splendid collection contained in the British Museum was formed in 1753, by Sir Hans Sloane, and was purchased by parliament for the national use, for £20,000.

In 1611, Barons were first created in England by James I. The first colonial establishment of the English in North America was not completely carried into effect before the year 1616. All attempts which had been made before this time, proved immature. The first settlement was that of Virginia. The colonization of New England began in 1621.

The first sedan chair seen in England was in the reign of James I. It was introduced by the duke of Buckingham, who was the first to use it, thereby incurring the great hatred of the people, who did not hesitate to affirm, that he turned his fellow-creatures into beasts of burden.

Agriculture, for many centuries, was very imperfectly cultivated in Britain. The sudden transitions, so often mentioned by historians, from the lowest to the highest price of grain, and the vast inequality of its value in different years, sufficiently prove that the produce depended on the seasons, and that art contributed very little to guard against the injuries of the heavens. Considerable improvements were introduced, but, notwithstanding these, the nation was still dependent on foreign markets for the staff of life. It is said, that not less than two millions

sterling left this country at one time, to purchase corn. The exportation of corn from England was not legal until the fifth year of Elizabeth, and from that moment, observes Camden, new life and vigour were imparted to agriculture.

Previously to the civil wars, Charles I. was the great patron of all the fine arts, and the promoter of a correct taste. Of this the encouragement and protection he afforded, Inigo Jones, Vandyke, and Rubens are a sufficient proof.

Copper halfpence and farthings began to be coined in the reign of James I. Most of the silver pennies having disappeared, tradesmen were obliged to carry on their retail business, chiefly by means of leaden tokens. The coins of Cromwell exceed in beauty and workmanship any of that age.

In 1643, to supply the charges of the war, the first excise was imposed by parliament.

In 1662, the Royal Society was instituted, for the promotion of philosophical knowledge.

England acquired much more respect from foreign powers between the death of Charles I. and that of Cromwell, than she had experienced since the days of queen Elizabeth.

During the interregnum, monopolies of all kinds were abolished, and liberty of conscience was granted to all sects.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST

OF

INVENTIONS, DISCOVERIES, &c.

During the Seventeenth Century.

- 1602.—Decimal Arithmetic invented at Bruges.
- 1604.—The French establish themselves in Canada.
- 1605.—Invention of Logarithms by Justus Byrge.
- 1607.—Hudson discovers the Eastern coast of Greenland, and the bay called after him.
- 1610.—Galileo discovers four of Jupiter's moons and the phases of Venus.
- 1613.—Invention of Logarithms by Napier.
- 1614.—Sir Hugh Middleton brings the New River from Ware to London.
- 1615.—Kepler.
- 1621.—Commencement of the English American Colonies.
- 1625.—Carriages for hire first introduced in London.
- 1630.—Enamelling on Jewellery introduced.
- 1632.—Persecution of Galileo for asserting the truth of the Copernican system.
- 1637.—Cardinal Richelieu founds the French Academy.
- 1641.—Harvey discovers the circulation of the blood.
- 1655.—Huyghens discovers the ring and one of the Satellites of Saturn.
- 1660.—Establishment of the Royal Society of London.
- 1664.—Newton discovers the Infinite Series.
- French East India Company established by Colbert.
- Post chaises invented in France.
- 1671.—The Monument of London erected by Sir Christopher Wren.
- 1686.—Revocation of the Edict of Nantz, by Louis XIV. in consequence of which vast numbers of mechanics and manufacturers take refuge in England.
- 1692.—Bank of England established by William III.
- 1698.—The Czar Peter the Great visits Holland.

Table of Contemporary Sovereigns in the Eighteenth Century, commencing from the Accession of Anne, in 1702, and ending at the year 1800.

A.D.	GR. BRITAIN.	FRANCE.	HOLLAND.	GERMANY.	ROME.	SPAIN.	PORTUGAL.	TURKEY.	RUSSIA.	DENMARK.	SWEDEN.	PRUSSIA.	POLAND.
1702	Anne.	Louis XIV.	John William Frison.	Leopold I.	Clement XI.	Philip V.	Peter II.	Mustapha II.	Peter the Great.	Frederick IV.	Charles XII.	Frederick I.	Augustus II.
1703													
1704								Achmet II.					Stanislaus Lecinski.
1705				Joseph I.									
1706													
1709							John V.						Augustus II.
1711			William IV. Charles Henry Frison	Charles VI.									
1713												Frederick William I.	
1714	George I.												
1715		Louis XV.											
1719											Ulrica Eleonora. Frederick.		
1720													
1721					Innocent XIII.								
1724					Benedict XIII.								
1725													
1727	George II.								Catherine I. Peter II. Anne.	Christian VI.			
1730					Clement XII.			Mahomet V.					Augustus III.
1733									Iwan III.			Frederick II. the Great.	
1740					Benedict XIV.								
1741									Elizabeth.				
1742				Charles VII. Francis I. and Maria Theresa.									
1746													
1750							Joseph Emanuel.			Frederick V.			
1751						Ferdinand VI.							
1754								Osman or Othman III.					
1758					Clement XIII.						Adolphus Frederick.		
1757								Mustapha III.					
1759						Charles III.							
1760	George III.								Peter III. (deposed)				
1763													Stanislaus Poniatowsky.
1764													
1765				Joseph II.						Christina VII.			
1766			William V.										
1769				Clement XIV.							Gustavus III.		1st Partition.
1771													
1772													
1774		Louis XVI.						Abdoun-Achmet IV.					
1775					Plus VI.								
1777							Maria.					Frederick William II.	
1780													
1788						Charles IV.		Selim III.					
1789				Leopold II. Francis I.							Gustavus IV.		2d Partition.
1792		Republ.											3d Partition.
1793													
1794			The French Batavian Republic.										
1796									Paul I.			Frederick William III.	
1797													
1799							John VI.						
1800					Plus VII.								

READING LXXIV.

GENERAL VIEW OF EUROPE AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF
THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

Two events of great importance occupied the serious attention of England at the commencement of the eighteenth century—the settlement of the British Crown upon the princess Sophia and her Protestant heirs, and the adjustment of the question of the Spanish succession.

In consequence of the death of the duke of Gloucester, the son of the princess Anne, and the last male heir in the Protestant line, it became necessary (since by the former act of settlement Catholics were incapacitated from succeeding to the English crown) to revert to Protestant females; and as it was not probable that William or Anne would have any future issue, the eventual succession to the crown was settled in 1701, by the parliament, on Sophia, duchess-dowager of Hanover, and the heirs general of her body, being Protestants. She was granddaughter of James I., by the princess Elizabeth, married to the unfortunate elector Palatine.

This settlement of the crown, however, was accompanied with certain limitations or provisions for the security of the rights and liberties of the subject, which were supposed to have been overlooked at the revolution. The principal of these were, that all affairs relative to government, cognizable (*that could be taken notice of*) by the privy council, should be submitted to it, and that all resolutions therein taken should be signed by the members who advised or consented to them; that no pardon should be pleaded to an impeachment (*accusation*) in parliament; that no person who should possess any office under the king, or receive a pension from the crown, should be capable of sitting in the house of commons; that the commissions of the judges should be rendered permanent, and their salaries be ascertained and established; that, in the event of a devolution (*falling*) or transfer of the crown to a foreigner, the English nation should not be obliged, without the consent of parliament, to enter into any war for the defence of territories not depending on the kingdom of England; and that whoever

should come to the possession of the throne, should join in communion with the Church of England.

By the second treaty of partition, which was privately signed by England, Holland and France in 1700, notwithstanding the violent remonstrances of the court of Madrid, it was agreed, that in the event of the decease of Charles II. without issue, Spain and her American dominions should descend to Charles, son of Leopold I., emperor of Germany; that the Dauphin should have the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, the ports on the Tuscan shore, and some other possessions, and that the duke of Lorraine ceding (*yielding*) his territories to the Dauphin, should enjoy the sovereignty of the Milanese. To prevent the conjunction (*union*) of Spain and the imperial crown in the person of ONE prince, provision was made, that, in case of the death of the king of the Romans, the archduke Charles, if raised to that dignity, should not succeed to the Spanish throne. It was also stipulated, (*settled*) that no dauphin or king of France should ever wear the crown of Spain.

Great, therefore, was the astonishment and alarm of all the free states of the continent, when, upon the death of Charles of Spain, it was found that he had made a will in favour of the house of Bourbon. Louis seemed at first to hesitate, whether he should accept the will, or adhere to the treaty of partition already noticed in this Reading. Notwithstanding, however, the danger to which he would unavoidably expose himself by having the emperor, England, and Holland for his enemies, Louis's vanity predominated, and he resolved, at all risks, to place his grandson on the throne of Spain. The duke of Anjou was consequently, with the general consent of the Spanish nation, crowned at Madrid, under the name of Philip V. Hence arose the famous war of the Succession, which ended in the complete abasement of Louis.

Some idea may be formed of the awe in which France stood of William III., from the joy that diffused itself throughout that kingdom on the news of his decease. The person who first brought the intelligence to Calais was imprisoned by the governor, until his information was confirmed. The court of Versailles could hardly restrain their transports so as to preserve common decorum; the people of Paris openly rejoiced at the event;

all propriety was laid aside at Rome, where this incident produced such indecent raptures, that cardinal Grimani, the imperial minister, complained of them to the pope, as an insult on the emperor his master, who was William's friend, confederate, and ally.

In the north of Europe the young czar, Peter of Russia, had already rendered himself formidable by the defeat of the Turks in 1696, and the taking of Azoph, which opened to him the dominion of the Black Sea. This acquisition led to more extensive views. He resolved to make Russia the centre of trade between Europe and Asia ; to connect the Dwina, the Wolga, and the Don, by means of canals ; and thus to open a passage from the Baltic to the Euxine and Caspian Seas, and from these seas to the Northern Ocean. The port of Archangel, frozen up for the greater part of the year, and which cannot be entered without a long, circuitous, and dangerous passage, he did not think sufficiently commodious ; he therefore resolved to build a city upon the Baltic Sea which should become the magazine of the north, and the capital of his extensive empire. That city is the present St. Petersburg.

Charles XI. of Sweden died in 1697, leaving as his heir Charles XII., afterwards styled the Alexander of the north. Peter the Great, desirous, as has been already observed, of securing a port on the eastern shore of the Baltic, resolved to make himself master of the province of Ingria, which lies to the north-east of Livonia, and had formerly been in the possession of his ancestors. With this view he entered into a league against Sweden, with Frederick Augustus, elector of Saxony, who had succeeded the famous Sobieski on the throne of Poland. The war was begun by Frederick IV., king of Denmark, who, contrary to the faith of treaties, invaded the territories of the duke of Holstein-Gottorp, brother-in-law to Charles XII.

In these ambitious projects the hostile princes were encouraged by the youth and inexperience of the king of Sweden, and by the little estimation in which he was held by foreign courts. Charles, however, suddenly undeceived public opinion, by discovering the greatest talents for war, accompanied by the most enterprising and heroic spirit. No sooner did the occasion call, than

his bold genius began to show itself. Instead of being disconcerted at the intelligence of the powerful confederacy which had been formed against him, he seemed rather to rejoice at the opportunity which it would afford him of displaying his courage. Meanwhile he did not neglect the necessary preparations and precautions. He renewed the alliance of Sweden with England and Holland, and sent an army into Pomerania to be ready to support the duke of Holstein.

The attention of the German princes was, about this time, chiefly directed to the second partition treaty. Unwilling to be concerned in any alliance which might excite the resentment of the house of Austria, they were cautious and dilatory (*slow*) in their answers; while the Italian States, alarmed at the idea of seeing France in the possession of Naples and other districts in their country, showed a strong disinclination to the treaty. The duke of Savoy, in hopes of being able to barter (*exchange*) his consent for some considerable advantage, affected a mysterious neutrality. The Swiss cantons declined acceding as guarantees; and the emperor expressed his astonishment, that any disposal should be made of the Spanish monarchy, without the consent of the present possessor, and the States of the kingdom. He therefore refused to sign the treaty, until he should know the sentiments of his catholic majesty on a transaction, in which the interests of both were so deeply concerned.

Charles XII. having defeated Augustus, king of Poland, in a sanguinary battle near Clissaw, between Warsaw and Cracow, on the 20th of July, 1702, and afterwards on the 1st of May, 1703, at Pultausk, the throne was, on the 14th of February, 1704, declared to be vacant. It was the intention of the king of Sweden, and the wish of the diet, to raise to the throne James, eldest son of the celebrated Sobieski; but that prince being taken prisoner with his brother Constantine by a party of Saxon dragoons, the crown of Poland was offered to a younger brother, named Alexander, who rejected it, with a generosity, perhaps unexampled in history. Nothing, he said, should ever induce him to take advantage of the misfortunes of his elder brother; and he entreated Charles XII. to employ his victorious arms in restoring liberty to the unhappy captive. Under these circumstances, Charles

recommended to the choice of that diet, Stanislaus Leczinski, palatine of Posnania, who was immediately raised to the throne.

READING LXXV.

GENERAL VIEW OF EUROPE AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.—CONCLUDED.

THE emperor Leopold having declared his second son, Charles, king of Spain, that young prince set out from Vienna to Holland, in 1703, and at Dusseldorp was visited by the duke of Marlborough, who, in the name of his mistress, congratulated him upon his accession to the crown of Spain. Charles received him with the most obliging courtesy. In the course of their conversation, taking off his sword, he presented it to the English general, with a very gracious aspect, saying, in the French language, "I am not ashamed to own myself a poor prince; I possess nothing but my cloak and sword, the latter may be of use to your grace; and I hope you will not think it the worse for my wearing it one day." "On the contrary," replied the duke, "it will always put me in mind of your majesty's just right and title, and of the obligations I lie under, to hazard my life in making you the greatest prince in Christendom."

It was at the commencement of this century, that is, in the year 1701, that Prussia, formerly only an electorate, (that of Brandenburg) was erected into a kingdom by the son of Frederick III., who crowned himself with his own hands at Königsberg, on the 15th of January, and took the title of Frederick I. He pursued the policy of his father. His troops fought valiantly in defence of Austria and Germany against the Turks and the French. In his internal administration he worked with a praiseworthy zeal at the development of all his father's institutions; agriculture, trade, commerce, the sciences and the arts, were placed under the protection of the law, and of an enlightened toleration; while the liberty of thought, of education, and of the press, found an asylum in the

university of Halle, which had been founded by him in 1694.

Germany at this time owned for its emperor, Leopold I. whose death, however, took place in 1705. He was succeeded by his son, Joseph I., who maintained the political system which had been embraced by his father. His character was more active and enterprising than that of his predecessor, free from the Italian spirit of intrigue, but rather fitted for prompt decision, than for the patient awaiting of the issue of events.

Don Pedro was at this time seated on the throne of Portugal, and governed his subjects with great justice and moderation. A little before the peace of Ryswick, he offered his mediation to Louis XIV., but received such an answer as showed plainly enough that France was resolved to reject it rather disdainfully. The Portuguese monarch thought fit to pass by the affront for the present, but it afterwards cost France dear. When Philip V., Louis's grandson, mounted the throne of Spain, the friendship of Portugal became not only expedient but necessary. Upon this occasion Louis was as obliging and civil as he had formerly shown himself haughty and proud; and though Don Pedro had already resolved on the part he was to take, yet considering how soon and how easily he might be crushed by the forces of the two crowns, he entered into an alliance with Philip, and this for various reasons. In the first place, it gained time, and delivered him from present danger; in the next, it gave an opportunity of gaining good terms, which might be of use to him on another occasion; and lastly, he obtained by it some present advantages, which were very beneficial to his subjects. But, as soon as the general confederacy was formed against France, and it clearly appeared that the allies meant to set up another king of Spain, the Portuguese monarch demanded of the French king, pursuant (*conformably*) to a late treaty, a fleet of thirty sail of the line, and a large sum of money. He knew well enough that in the present circumstances those demands could not be complied with; but he wanted a pretext for breaking that treaty, without breaking faith, and this answered his purpose very effectually; for, as soon as the fleet of the allies appeared upon his coast, he thought fit to declare himself neuter, and not long after

made a treaty with Charles III. of Spain ; but before any steps could be taken for prosecuting the war, he was removed by death, on the 9th of December, 1706, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and twenty-third of his reign.

Christiern V. king of Denmark, had, in the year 1696, on the death of the duke of Holstein-Gottorp, advanced two claims upon that family, which were for some time adjusted (*settled*) by the mediation of the emperor of Germany, and the kings of Great Britain and Sweden, William III. and Charles XII., whose sister the duke of Holstein had espoused. But in the last years of his life these disturbances broke out again, and things were on the point of coming to a rupture, when the king died, in the month of September, 1699.

His son and successor Frederic IV. acted precisely on his father's principles, and resolved to compel the dukes of Holstein to remain dependent on the kings of Denmark for the future ; in order to which, he overran that country, and undertook the siege of Tonningen, which gave occasion to the long war in the north at the beginning of this century. The English and Dutch, as guarantees of the late peace, sent a powerful fleet into the Baltic, and the king of Sweden, at the same time, besieged Copenhagen ; so that the Danes were obliged to conclude the famous treaty of Travendahl, on the 18th of August, 1700. By this treaty it was stipulated that the house of Holstein should for the future enjoy the same rights with other sovereigns ; that the duke should be at liberty to raise troops and build forts in his own dominions, provided they were two miles distant from any fortress belonging to the Danes, and at least a mile from their frontiers. It was likewise agreed, that the crown of Denmark should pay the duke of Holstein two hundred and fifty thousand crowns, and that the chapter (*ecclesiastical body*) of Lubeck should be at liberty to elect a prince of Holstein for their bishop.

In consequence of the treaty of Ryswick, the emperor of Germany was enabled to make vigorous efforts against the Turks in Hungary, while the Venetians, although unsuccessful upon three several occasions in bringing the infidels to a naval engagement, still continued to proceed cheerfully with the war, as the Turkish empire was

by this time greatly weakened by the successive defeats they had already suffered in Hungary, and intimidated by the prospect of what they had to expect from the power of the Muscovites (*Russians*), and the victorious arms of Leopold, now freed from the burden of the war with France. But the court of Vienna was now wholly intent upon the succession of Spain ; and the emperor, that he might be able to concentrate all his care upon this object, expressed a desire of affecting an accommodation with the Turks. The king of England, William III., apprised (*informed*) of his inclinations, sent instructions to lord Paget, his ambassador at Constantinople, to make overtures of peace to the vizier Cussein, to whom they were very agreeable.

After considerable negotiations, the peace or truce of twenty-five years was at length concluded at Carlowitz, betwixt the emperor Leopold and the grand signior Mus-tapha II., and also between the Poles and the said sultan. This treaty, which was highly honourable to the Venetians, since they were left in quiet possession of the Morea, with the islands of Ægina, Santa Maura, Castelnuevo, and Prisano, and the fortresses of Knin, Sing, Citclut, and Gabella, in Dalmatia, was ratified by the senate on the 7th of February, 1699.

Upon the death of Charles II. of Spain, Europe, as we have before seen, was involved in fresh troubles ; in consequence of which the new pope Clement IX. joined the Venetians in offering their mediation to prevent the horrors and calamities of such a war as was now on the point of being kindled ; but all parties concerned were too much irritated and too confident of success to listen to reasonable terms of accommodation. The French king, however, despatched the cardinal d'Estrées to Venice, with a commission to form, if possible, an offensive and defensive league with the republic, but all his address was lost upon the senate, which wisely resolved to maintain the most scrupulous neutrality, while they took care to keep their forces by sea and land upon a respectable footing.

READING LXXVI.

QUEEN ANNE.

BATTLE OF HOCHSTET, OR BLENHEIM.

1704.

ON the death of William III., which took place on the 8th of March, 1701, being known at the Hague, all Holland was filled with consternation. The states immediately assembled, and for some time gazed at each other in silent fear and astonishment. They sighed, wept, and interchanged embraces and vows that they would act with unanimity, and expend their dearest blood in defence of their country. The express from England having brought the queen's (Anne) speech to her privy council, it was translated and published to revive the drooping spirits of the people. Next day the pensionary, Fagel, read to the states of Holland a communication which he had received from the earl of Marlborough, containing assurances, in the queen's name, of union and assistance. In a few days the queen wrote a letter, in the French language, to the states, confirming these assurances; it was delivered by Mr. Stanhope, whom she had furnished with fresh credentials, as envoy from England. Thus animated, the states resolved to prosecute vigorous measures; their resolutions were still more inspirited by the arrival of the earl of Marlborough, whom the queen had honoured with the Order of the Garter, and invested with the character of ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the states-general; he was likewise declared captain-general of her forces at home and abroad.

Marlborough repaired to the camp at Nimeguen, in the beginning of July, 1702, and we find him returning from the Low Countries in the beginning of 1703, alike eminent for his conduct and success. He had taken Bonn, the residence of the elector of Cologne. From thence he marched and retook Huï and Leniburg, and made himself master of all the lower Rhine. Marshal Villeroi commanded in Flanders, where he had no better success against Marlborough than he had against prince Eugene. Marshal Boufflers, with a detachment of his

army, had indeed gained a small advantage in the fight of Eckeren, over the Dutch general Opdam; but an advantage which has no consequences is no advantage at all.

And now, had not the English general marched to the assistance of the emperor, the house of Austria was undone. The elector of Bavaria was master of Passau. Thirty thousand French, under the command of marshal Marsin, who had succeed Villeroi, overspread the countries on the other side of the Danube. There were several flying parties in Austria; Vienna itself was threatened on one side by the French and Bavarians, and on the other by prince Ragotski, at the head of the Hungarians, fighting for their liberty, and supplied with money by the French and the Turks. In this situation of affairs, prince Eugene hastened from Italy to take the command of the armies in Germany, and had an interview with the duke of Marlborough at Heelbron. The English general, whose hands were at full liberty, being left to act as he pleased by his queen and her allies the Dutch, marched with succours into the heart of the empire, taking with him, for the present, ten thousand English foot, and twenty-three squadrons of horse. He made forced marches, and arrived on the banks of the Danube, near Donawert, opposite to the elector of Bavaria's lines, where about eight thousand French and as many Bavarians lay entrenched, to guard the country they had conquered. After an engagement of two hours, Marlborough forced the lines at the head of three battalions of English, and routed the Bavarians and the French. It is said that he killed six thousand of the enemy, and lost five thousand himself. He then took Donawert, July 2d, 1704, repassed the Danube, and laid Bavaria under contribution. Marshal Villeroi, who attempted to follow him in his first marches, lost sight of him on a sudden, and knew not where he was, till he heard the news of his victory at Donawert. Marshal Tallard, who with a corps of thirty thousand men had marched by another route to oppose Marlborough, came and joined the elector. At the same time prince Eugene arrived and united his forces to those of Marlborough.

At length the two armies met within a short distance of Donawert, and nearly in the same plains where marshal

Villars had gained a victory the year before. It is well known that Villars, then in the Cevennes, having received a letter from an officer in Tallard's army, and written the night before the battle, acquainting him with the disposition of the two armies, and the manner in which marshal Tallard intended to engage, wrote to his brother-in-law, the president de Maisons, telling him that if marshal Tallard gave the enemy battle in that position, he must infallibly be beaten. This letter was shown to Louis XIV. and was afterwards made public.

The French army, including the Bavarians, consisted of eighty-two battalions, and one hundred and sixty squadrons, which made in all nearly sixty thousand men, the corps being then not quite complete. The allies had sixty-four battalions, and one hundred and fifty-two squadrons, in all not above fifty-two thousand men. This battle, that proved so bloody and decisive, deserves a particular attention. The French generals were accused of a number of errors; the chief one was, the having brought themselves into the predicament of accepting a battle, instead of letting the opposing army waste itself for want of forage and provisions, and giving time to marshal Villeroy either to fall upon the Netherlands, then in a defenceless state, or to penetrate further into Germany. But it should be considered in reply to this accusation, that the French army, being somewhat stronger than that of the allies, might hope for the victory, which indeed would have infallibly dethroned the emperor. The marquis de Feuquières reckons up no less than twelve capital faults committed by the elector, Marsin, and Tallard, before and after the battle; one of the most considerable was, the not having placed a large body of foot in their centre, and having separated the two bodies of the army. Marshal Villars has often been heard to say, that this disposition was unpardonable.

Marshal Tallard was at the head of the right wing, and the elector, with Marsin, at the left. Tallard had all the impetuous and sprightly courage of a Frenchman, an active and penetrating understanding, and a genius fruitful in expedients and resources. But this general laboured under a malady of very dangerous consequences to a military man; his sight was so weak, that he could not distinguish objects at the distance of twenty paces

from him. It has also been asserted, by those who were well acquainted with him, that his impetuous courage, quite the reverse of the duke of Marlborough's, growing still warmer in the heat of action, deprived him sometimes of the necessary presence of mind.

This was the first time that marshal Marsin had commanded in chief. With much wit and a good understanding, he is said to have been rather a good general of division, than an able commander-in-chief.

As to the elector of Bavaria, he was looked upon not less as a great general, than as a valiant and amiable prince, the darling of his subjects, and who had more magnanimity than application.

At length the battle commenced between twelve and one o'clock in the afternoon. Marlborough, with his English, having passed a small rivulet, began the attack upon Tallard's cavalry. That general, a little before, had ridden towards the left wing to observe its disposition. It was no small disadvantage to Tallard's corps, from the beginning, to be obliged to fight without its general at its head. The corps commanded by the elector and Marsin had not yet been attacked by prince Eugene. Marlborough had attacked the right of the French nearly an hour before Eugene could have come up to the elector on the left of the French.

As soon as marshal Tallard heard that Marlborough had attacked his wing, he immediately hastened thither, where he found a furious action begun; the French cavalry rallied three times and were as often repulsed. He then went to the village of Blenheim, where he had posted twenty-seven battalions and twelve squadrons. This was a little detached army that kept a continual fire on Marlborough during the whole time he was engaged with Tallard's wing. After giving his orders in this village, he hastened back to the place where the duke, with a body of horse and battalions of foot between the squadrons, was driving the French cavalry before him.

He arrived in time only to see his cavalry routed before his face, and the victorious Marlborough forcing his way between the two bodies of the French army on one side; while, on the other, his officers had got between the village of Blenheim and Tallard's division, which was thus separated from the corps posted in that village.

READING LXXVII.

BATTLE OF HOCHSTET, OR BLENHEIM.—CONCLUDED.

IN this cruel situation, marshal Tallard flew to rally some of the broken squadrons; but the badness of his sight made him mistake a squadron of the enemy for one of his own, and he was taken prisoner by the Hessian troops that were in the English pay. At the very instant that the general was taken, prince Eugene, after having been three times repulsed, at length gained the advantage. The rout now became total in Tallard's division; every one fled with the utmost precipitation; and so great was the terror and confusion throughout that whole wing, that officers and soldiers ran headlong into the Danube, without knowing whither they were going. There was no general officer to give orders for a retreat; no one thought of saving those twenty-seven battalions and twelve squadrons of the best troops of France, that were so unfortunately shut up in Blenheim, or of bringing them into action. At last marshal Marsin ordered a retreat. The count du Bourg, afterwards marshal of France, saved a small part of the infantry by retreating over the marshes of Hochstet; but neither he, Marsin, nor any one else, thought of the corps shut up in Blenheim, waiting for orders which they never received. It consisted of eleven thousand veterans. There are many examples of less armies that have beaten others of fifty thousand men, or at least made a glorious retreat; but the nature of the position determines every thing. It was impossible for them to get out of the narrow streets of a village, and range themselves in order of battle in the face of a victorious army, that would have overwhelmed them at once with a superior front, and even with their own artillery, which had all fallen into the victor's hands.

The general officer who commanded here was the marquis of Clerembaut, son to the marshal of that name; he was hastening to find out marshal Tallard, to receive orders from him, when he was told that he was taken prisoner; and seeing nothing but people running on all sides, he fled with them, and in fleeing was drowned in the Danube.

Brigadier Sivières, who was posted in this village, ventured upon a bold stroke; he called aloud to the officers of the regiments of Artois and Provence, to follow him. Several officers, even of other regiments, obeyed the summons, and, rushing out of the village, like those who make a sally from a town that is besieged, fell upon the enemy; but, after this sally, they were obliged to return back again. One of these officers, named Des-Nouvelles, returned some few moments afterwards, on horseback, with the earl of Orkney. As soon as he entered the village, the rest of the officers flocked round him, inquiring if it was an English prisoner he had brought in. "No, gentlemen," replied he, "I am a prisoner myself, and am come to tell you, that you have nothing left but to surrender yourselves prisoners of war. Here is the earl of Orkney, who is come to offer you terms." At hearing this, the veterans shuddered with horror: the regiment of Navarre tore their colours in pieces, and buried them. But at length they were compelled to yield to necessity; and the whole corps laid down its arms without having struck a blow.

Such was this famous action, which in France was known by the name of the battle of Höchstet, and by the English and Germans by that of Blenheim, and which was fought on August 13, 1704. The victors had nearly five thousand killed and eight thousand wounded; the greatest part of which loss fell on the side of the prince Eugene. The French army was almost entirely cut to pieces. Of sixty thousand men, not above twenty thousand could be collected after the engagement.

This fatal day was distinguished by the loss of twenty thousand men killed and fourteen thousand made prisoners; all the cannon, a prodigious number of standards, colours, tents, and equipages, with the general of the army, and twelve hundred officers of note, fell into the hands of the conquerors. The runaways dispersed themselves on all sides, and upwards of a hundred leagues of country were lost in less than one month. The whole electorate of Bavaria, now fallen under the yoke of the emperor, experienced all the severity of Austrian resentment, and all the cruelties of a rapacious soldiery. The elector in his way to Brussels, whither he was flying for refuge, met with his brother the elector of Cologne, who, like him,

was driven out of his dominions; they embraced each other with a flood of tears. The court of Versailles, accustomed to continual successes, was struck with astonishment and confusion at this reverse. The news of the defeat arrived in the midst of the rejoicings made on account of the birth of a great grandson of Louis XIV. No one would venture to acquaint the king with the disagreeable truth. At length madame de Maintenon undertook to let him know that he was no longer invincible.

Marlborough was rewarded by his sovereign and the parliament with a splendid palace being built for him, and named Blenheim House, near Woodstock, in Oxfordshire, and with the thanks of the two houses of parliament, of the cities and towns, and the general acclamation of the people; while Addison celebrated him in a poem. The emperor created him a prince of the empire, and bestowed upon him the principality of Mindelsheim.

READING LXXVIII.

BATTLE OF MALPLAQUET.

1709.

IN consequence of the reverses he had met with, Louis XIV. made proposals for peace in the year 1709. They were, however, rejected by the allies, and others substituted so humiliating that the French monarch determined to fight to the last extremity, rather than submit to them.

As soon as the conferences for the re-establishment of peace were broken off, the allied army, amounting to above one hundred thousand men, commanded by prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough, was formed on the plains of Lisle. Marshal Villars, who had been called to the command of the French forces in Flanders, as the last support of his sinking country, occupied a strong post between Courrière and the town of Bethune. Those places covered his two wings, and he was defended in front by the villages of La Bassé and Pont-à-Vendin.

By this position of his army, he covered (*defended*) the cities of Douay and Arras, the reduction of which would have opened a passage for the allies into the heart of France. After advancing within two leagues of his camp and viewing his situation, the generals of the confederates, not judging it prudent to attack him suddenly, drew off their troops, and sat down before Tournay, one of the strongest and most ancient cities in Flanders. The citadel, constructed with all the skill of Vauban, was yet stronger than the town. But with so much vigour and address were both attacked, that the place itself was taken in twenty-one days ; while the chief fortress, into which the governor had retired with the remains of his garrison, was compelled to surrender at the end of a month.

The confederates (*allies*) no sooner found themselves masters of Tournay, which they had been permitted to reduce without any annoyance from the enemy, than they formed the design of besieging Mons. They accordingly pursued the necessary steps for that purpose ; while Villars, having embraced the bold resolution of protecting or relieving the place, passed the Scarpe, and encamped between that river and the Scheldt. Disappointed in his hopes of arriving at Mons before the main army of the allies, the French general took possession of a strong camp, about a league from the invested city, and resolved to give all possible disturbance to the operations of the besiegers ; his right extended to the village of Malplaquet, which lay behind the extensive and impenetrable wood of Saart ; his left was covered by another thick wood ; and his centre was defended by three lines of trenches, drawn along a narrow plain ; the whole being secured by a fortification of trees, which had been cut down and carried from the neighbouring woods, surrounded with all their branches.

The generals of the confederates, elate (*overjoyed*) with past success, or persuaded that Mons could not be taken without dislodging the enemy, resolved to attack Villars in that strong position, although his army was little inferior to theirs, each amounting to nearly one hundred thousand combatants. Voltaire affirms that the army of Villars did not exceed eighty thousand fighting men, but perhaps the former number is the more correct, if it

be considered that the marshal was joined by Boufflers, who stifled all rivalry out of regard to his country, and consented to act in an inferior capacity, though he was the senior commander. In consequence of the above determination, the allies advanced to the charge early in the morning, both armies having prepared themselves for action during the preceding night. The British troops were opposed to the left, the Dutch to the right, and the Germans to the centre of the French army. Marshal Villars placed himself at the head of his left wing, and committed the charge of his right to Boufflers. After an awful pause of almost two hours, the engagement began ; and the firing, in a moment, extended from wing to wing. Few battles, in any age, have been so fierce and bloody, and none, since the improvement of the art of war by the invention of gunpowder, have been so well and so long contested.

The British troops, led on by the duke of Argyle, having passed a morass (*bog*) deemed impracticable (*not to be traversed*), attacked with such fury the left of the enemy, stationed in the wood, that they were obliged to retire into the plain behind it ; where they again formed, and renewed their efforts. Meanwhile the Dutch, under count Tilly and the prince of Orange, were engaged with the right of the French army ; and advancing in three lines to the entrenchments, gave and received a terrible fire for the space of an hour : three times were they repulsed with prodigious slaughter, and three times were they again led on to the charge by their gallant commanders, who persisted in their efforts with incredible perseverance and intrepidity. Several French battalions being thrown into disorder, were rallied and confirmed in their station by marshal Boufflers. Enraged at this unexpected obstinacy of the French in both wings, and perceiving that Villars had weakened his centre in order to support his left, prince Eugene determined to attack, in person, the entrenchments in front. He accordingly led on a body of fresh troops, entered the enemy's line, outflanked a regiment of French guards, and obliged them to fly. Marshal Villars, in hastening to support his centre, was wounded and carried off the field. But Boufflers, notwithstanding this misfortune, continued obstinately to maintain the fight ; and when he found that he could no

longer sustain the united efforts of prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough, who showed that they were determined to conquer or perish, he made an excellent retreat to Valenciennes, that prevented all pursuit.

The allies, after all their exertions, gained little besides the field of battle; and that they purchased with the lives of twenty thousand men, while the French did not lose above half that number. It was indeed a victory, but one so bloody and dearly bought, as would have made a repetition of it fatal to the confederacy. So imposing, however, is the mere name of victory, that the allies were suffered to invest Mons, and to carry on their operations without the smallest disturbance. The surrender of that important place put an end to the business of the campaign in Flanders.

READING LXXIX.

BATTLE OF MALPLAQUET.—CONCLUDED.

1709.

To the above general description of this celebrated battle we shall add the following detailed account of it by an eye-witness:—

“Our general,” says the narrator, “had orders to proceed with the utmost possible expedition. We accordingly marched all night and greatest part of the next day, before we came to the ground, where we pitched our tents at sunset. It was just under one of the French lines where we took up our quarters that night, and in the morning early the general beat (*a signal by beat of drum*). I jumped up and awaked those that were asleep, that they might be ready at the word of command. For my part, I was animated to such a degree, that my soul was in raptures, thinking that we were going upon some expedition wherein I might have an opportunity to exert myself; and the men, seeing me in such spirits, were enlivened so much that they forgot their long march.

“The world may say it is a very uncommon thing for such an insignificant fellow as I to have such influence over the men; but yet it is certain, my word has fled

through the whole regiment in a minute. What gave me this ascendant over them ~~was~~ my making up their deficiencies, and by so doing I had them always at my beck. What could a man of my station desire more? I always thought it a blessing from the Almighty, therefore I threw my life and fortune before him. He saved my life, but my fortune was divided amongst thousands for my country's good: though now I begin to miss it. But I hope they will consider the old soldier and the well-wisher to the service, and that will compensate for my past labours, and render me capable to exert myself against the French at this critical juncture, as we did at the following battle of Malplaquet, or the battle of the wood, which all the world must own was as bold an attempt as ever the world did produce.

“The enemy had the advantage of the wood, which would have rendered them capable of destroying the greatest part of us, had they not been intimidated. When we came near the wood, we threw all our tent poles away, and ran into it as bold as lions. But we were obstructed from being so expeditious as we should, by reason of their artful inventions, by cutting down trees and laying them across, and by tying the boughs together in all places. This, they thought, would frustrate us, and put us into disorder; and in truth there were but very few places in that station in which we could draw up our men in any form at all: but where we did it was in this manner:—sometimes ten deep, then we were obstructed and obliged to halt; then fifteen deep or more, and in this confused manner we went through the wood, but yet all in high spirits, which was something extraordinary after so great fatigue. Our brave duke of Marlborough, and all the other commanding officers in general, were sensible of the advantageous ground the enemy had at that action. Besides the wood, Mons was in our rear, which obliged us to have a detachment of a hundred men out of every regiment that was at the siege of the citadel of Tournay, in order to block it up. This was a great weakening to us, at the most dangerous attack man can devise, for we were environed round on all sides by our enemies, and were obliged to fight our way through the midst of them, to support our honour and self-preservation. We fought the battle, but I will acknowledge that God gained the

victory : for without him we could have done nothing of ourselves. These were my thoughts all the time we were placing ourselves in a form, that we might be in a capacity to receive their warm charge, which was done at the edge or border of the wood. Then we cast our eyes upon a breast-work that was not above half a furlong from the wood, to which sir Richard Temple, who commanded our brigade, ordered us to advance. I was in the front of the first division, and could perceive the French were well prepared to give us a warm salute. It soon broke us in a terrible manner, though our vacancies were quickly filled up. I was prodigious sorry to see our lieutenant-colonel Ramsay shot dead, and expire in a moment. Nay, I was obliged to squeeze my right hand man, or I could not have avoided stepping upon him ; which I was unwilling to do, though he could not have felt me. When we got clear of the dead and wounded, we ran upon them, and returning their fire, even broke them out of the breast-work. Then they retreated to another, but in a confused manner. Then we were commanded to fall off to the right, that the second battalion might draw themselves up in a body, in order to exert themselves as we did before. A Dutch regiment at the same time behaved with a great deal of courage and conduct. The Welsh fusiliers made our ground good at the breast-work that we had deprived them of. I could perceive upon the right of our battalion, the second battalion of guards fired by platoons, and behaved incomparably well. Neither were the French deficient in their attack, but both sides behaved to admiration ; therefore we said one to another, the guards are endeavouring to gain their honour. The reason of that saying was, old soldiers had used to call them Vain's army ; because they were always used to fine service, and never to suffer the hardships that others are subject to. But what I disliked them for was, the moment they had gone through their battalion, with their platoon firing, they behaved themselves like blackguards, by plundering their own dead, and pulling them about before they were cold or quite dead. So that my bowels yearned for their cruelty. Thus I found they fought for gain ; and I am afraid there are too many of that stamp.

The next attack, we could distinguish that there

were some misunderstandings among the French, which rose to great disputes, and all through a froward commander. While they were a-jarring, our brave commander, sir Richard Temple, made up to them, in order to learn the difference that subsisted between them, and by so doing he disranked them, and ended all disputes by a volley of fire-arms, that rendered a great number of them insensible of knowing what had passed. Then they returned our volley with great success. I may say it, for my right and left hand men were shot dead, and in falling had almost thrown me down, for I could scarce prevent my falling among the dead men. Then I said to the second rank, 'Come, my boys, make good the front.' With that they drew up. Then I said, 'Never fear, we shall have better luck the next throw.' But I just saved my word, for my right hand man was shot through the head, and the man that followed me was shot through the groin, and I escaped all, though nothing but the providence of God could protect me. Then our rear man was called up to be a front; but the poor man was struck with a panic, fearing that he should share the same fate as the others did. He endeavoured to half cover himself behind me, but I put my hand behind me and pulled him up, and told him, that I could no ways screen him, for he was sensible a man behind me was shot. By strong persuasion I prevailed upon him, so that he was not in the least daunted, but stood it out as bold as a lion. We received a great many volleys after that, and one time I remember it wounded my captain and took my left hand man, and almost swept off those that were on my right, so that it left the man that was intimidated and myself alone. Then I said, 'Come, partner, there is nothing like having good courage.' So we filled up our ranks in a regular form, and when we had so done, we fired upon them briskly and with great success: for they were repulsed, and almost afraid to face us any more, after our sharp firing, but were glad to retreat; and fall back as fast as they could. Then we cast our eyes to the left, and could perceive a breast-work: I could distinguish that the French were lining it with all the expedition imaginable. Upon that I had some conference with my colonel, and told him that without great care we should be flanked. He was a man of a polite genius,

and I could observe that he had a great deal of conduct to guide his actions, which was a great addition to his profession, especially at that juncture where thousands of lives were depending. After our noble colonel had heard my discourse, he called to sir Richard Temple, and said that his battalion would be flanked. He replied, 'No; go on yet, colonel, for there is an absolute necessity for it.' We were eager to go on, for we desired to be expeditious in our attack. With that the colonel called to sir Richard again, and said, if he must go on, he would go on. Then the aide-de-camp came and said, 'Go on;' but the colonel spoke first, and said, 'Wheel to the left of the battalion.' Those words we observed, and as swift as thought we ran upon their breast-works with a huzza, and gave them a warm fire, which made them tumble one over another. At the same time the Welsh fusiliers being upon the right of them, flanked them with a kind salute, which jammed them together in their breast-works. So we did not give them time to plunder their dead, neither did they approve of it, lest we should increase their number of corps (*dead bodies*). I would not have you think the French were idle, for as our battalion was running upon the breast-works, they fired upon us and killed a great number, though inferior to their own. Then we had orders to wheel to the right. Had we not, the French horse would certainly have fallen upon our rear. This happened at the ground where we first made our attack. But when we faced them, they backed their horses as fast as they could, and we advanced and retreated in the front of them for a considerable time till they opened to the right and left. Then they advanced forward. With that we fell back a little and made a halt. Our commander, sir Richard Temple, was very active, and showed a great deal of ingenuity at that juncture. I could perceive it by the orders. Our colonel ordered the drums to beat a march; accordingly they did, though our marching was very slow; but we lifted up our feet as fast as we could, in such a manner that they imagined we were coming bodily upon them. With that the horse would fall back and make a halt, and we did in like manner. This was the method we used advancing and retreating, till such time as their foot thought proper to make off. Then the

horse thought fit to make all the haste they could after them, so it was properly a general retreat. Then we were commanded to pursue, which we did, but to no purpose. I remember when we mounted a hill we could perceive they were upon another opposite to us, and sent us a salute by the mouths of three cannon, as an adieu; the first cannon ball grazed in the front but did no damage at all; and the colonel desired we would lie down, for we should have another or two, and we found it as he observed. After three cannons were fired we got up in high spirits, for we were under no apprehensions of having any more; so that did not much obstruct us in making our pursuit, and we soon put the French to the run. But it availed us little, having only occasioned the French to get into garrison sooner than they would have done, had we not pursued them.

“As we found they were determined not to face us any more, we returned to our army, or the ground we gained by our dexterity and artful inventions. It being the close of the day, we all began to think of rest, and having no tents to fix, we were obliged to take up with such quarters as we could find. We were all dispersed in a short time, some in one place, and some in another. I remember well, after I had pitched upon whom I thought proper to go along with me, I perceived a house at some distance, whither we all agreed to go together, hoping to find it empty. But we found it the reverse, for it was full of miserable objects, that were disabled and wounded, in such a manner, that I thought them past all recovery. Therefore I said to my companions, ‘I don’t think there is a possibility of our having any rest this night.’ We endeavoured to the utmost of our ability to get out of the noise of the wounded, but found it almost impossible, except we had gone three or four miles distance, for all the hedges and ditches were lined with disabled men. Therefore we returned to an orchard and laid ourselves down in as warm a place as we could find, but the horrible cries and groans of the wounded terrified my soul, so that I was in tortures, and fancied I felt their sufferings. So I could not lay my eyelids together all that night, for one thought or other that came fresh into my mind, after the agony I was in for my fellow-creatures.”

READING LXXX.

THE PRETENDER, JAMES STUART.

Died 1765.

GEORGE^{*}I. elector of Hanover, ascended the throne of these realms in August 1714. As one of the most interesting events of his reign is the attempt of the representative of the Stuart line, or the Pretender, to recover the power of which the nation had justly deprived his family, a concise account of this enterprise will not be found devoid of instruction and interest.

In consequence of the favourable disposition evinced (*shown*) by Harley, queen Anne's minister, and afterwards earl of Oxford, for the cause of her brother the Pretender, that prince was encouraged to write to her. He represented to her the affection that ought to subsist between two persons so nearly related, and recalled to her memory her repeated promises to their common parent. "To you," said he, "and to you alone, I wish to owe eventually the throne of my fathers. The voice of God, and of nature, is loud in your ear; the preservation of our family, the preventing of intestine wars, and the prosperity of our country, combine to require you to rescue me from affliction, and yourself from misery. Though restrained by your difficult situation, I can form no doubt of your preferring a brother, the last male of an ancient line, to the remotest relation (George, elector of Hanover) we have in the world. Neither you nor the nation has received any injury at my hands; therefore, madam, as you tender (*value*) your honour and happiness—as you love your family—as you revere the memory of your father—as you regard the welfare and safety of a great people, I conjure you to meet me in this friendly way of composing our difference! The happiness of both depends upon your determination. You have it in your power to deliver me from the reproach that invariably follows unfortunate princes, and to render your own memory dear to posterity."

But all the efforts of the Pretender to alter the succession as established by law proved unavailing, and on

the death of queen Anne, the elector of Hanover ascended the throne. The death of Louis XIV. further embarrassed the Pretender's affairs ; for although the duke of Orleans, who, in contradiction to the will of the deceased monarch, was appointed, by the parliament of Paris, regent during the minority of Louis XV. affected privately to espouse the interests of the house of Stuart, yet the exhausted state of France, and the difficulty of maintaining his own authority against the other princes of the blood; induced him publicly to cultivate a good understanding with the court of Great Britain, and even to take, though with seeming reluctance, all the steps pointed out by the earl of Stair, for defeating the designs of the Jacobites.

Notwithstanding these discouragements, the indigent representative of the unfortunate family of Stuart, did not relinquish his hopes of a crown ; nor did his partisans, either in England or Scotland, abate of their ardour in his cause. The Highlanders, especially, were eager to take arms, and entreated the Pretender to place himself at their head, or at least, to permit them to rise in vindication of his just rights.

The frequent wars among the different Highland clans, and the active life which these people led in time of peace, when they were entirely employed in hunting or herding their cattle, habituated them to the use of arms, and hardened them to the endurance (*suffering*) of toil, without greatly wasting their bodily strength, or destroying their agility (*activity*). Their ancient military weapons, in conjunction with a target (*small round shield*), were a broadsword for cutting or thrusting at a distance ; and a dirk or dagger, for stabbing in close fight. To these, when they became acquainted with the use of fire-arms, they added a musket, which was laid aside in battle after the first discharge. They occasionally carried also a pair of pistols, which were fired as soon as the musket was discharged, and thrown in the face of the enemy, as a prelude (*introduction*) to the havoc of the broadsword ; this formidable weapon was instantly brandished (*shaken to and fro*) by every arm, gleaming like the coruscations (*flashes*) of lightning, to infuse terror into the heart, and conquer the eye of the foe, and which fell on the head or on the target of an antagonist (*enemy*) with the shock of thunder. Want of perseverance and of union, however,

generally rendered the efforts of the clans, as a body, abortive (*fruitless*) notwithstanding their prowess (*valour*) in combat, and exposed them to the disgrace of being routed by an inferior number of regular troops.

The dress of the Highlanders was well suited to their arms, to their moist, mountainous country, and to their mode of life. Instead of breeches, they wore a light woollen garment called the kilt, which came as low as the knee; a thick cloth jacket; a worsted plaid, six yards in length, and two in breadth, wrapped loosely round the body, the upper fold of which rested on the left shoulder, leaving the right arm at liberty. In battle they commonly threw away the plaid, that they might be enabled to make their movements with more celerity (*quickness*), and their strokes with greater force. They fought, not in ranks, but in separate, condensed, and firm bands.

Such were the people who, under their numerous chieftains, had formed a regular confederacy, and were zealous for the restoration of the family of Stuart to the throne of Great Britain. Strongly prepossessed in favour of the hereditary descent of the crown, they could form no conception of a parliamentary right to alter the order of succession, from political considerations. It contradicted all their ideas of kingship, and even of clanship. They, therefore, thought themselves bound, by a sacred and indispensable obligation, to reinstate in his lineal (*family*) inheritance the excluded prince, or to perish in the bold attempt.

The Pretender's southern friends were no less liberal in their professions of zeal in his cause. They pressed him to land in the west of England, where his person would be as safe, they affirmed, as in Scotland, and where he would find all other things more favourable to his views, although they had yet taken no decisive measures for a general insurrection; though they still continued to represent arms and foreign troops, as necessary to such a step, and were told that he was not only incapable of furnishing them with either, but assured that he could not bring with him so many men as would be able to protect him against the peace-officers.

To compose the spirit of the Highlanders, who seemed to fear nothing so much as that the business of restoring their king should be taken out of their hands, and the

honour appropriated (*given*) to others, they were informed that the Pretender desired to have the rising of his friends in England and Scotland so adjusted (*planned*), that they might, in strict concert, assist each other; and that it was very much to be wished, that all hostilities in Scotland could be suspended, until the English were ready to take arms. A memorial, drawn up by the duke of Berwick, had been already sent by lord Bolingbroke, to the Jacobites (*partisans of James, the father of the Pretender*) in England, representing the unreasonableness of desiring the Pretender to land among them, before they were in a condition to support him. They were now requested to consider seriously whether they were yet in such a condition; and were assured that, as soon as an intimation to that purpose should be given, and the time and place of his landing fixed, the Pretender was ready to put himself at their head. They named as a landing-place the neighbourhood of Plymouth, and said they hoped the western counties were in a good posture to receive the king; but they offered no conjecture with respect to the force they could bring into the field, or the dependence that might be placed on the persons who had engaged to rise.

This, as lord Bolingbroke justly observes, was not the answer of men who knew what they were about. Greater precision (*exactness*) was surely necessary in dictating a message, that was expected to be followed by such important consequences. The duke of Ormond, however, set out from Paris, and the Pretender, from his temporary residence at Bar, on the frontiers of Lorraine, in order to join their common friends. Some agents were sent to the west, some to the north of England, and others to London, to give notice that both were on their way. And their routes were so directed, that Ormond was to sail from the coast of Normandy a few days before the Pretender arrived at St. Malo, to which place the duke was to send immediate notice of his landing, and of the prospect of success.

READING LXXXI.

THE PRETENDER, JAMES STUART

Died 1765.

BUT the Pretender's imprudence, and the vigilance (*watchfulness*) of the English government, defeated the designs of his adherents in the west, and broke, in its infancy, the force of a rebellion which threatened to deluge the kingdom in blood. Governed by priests and women, he had unwisely given, in the beginning of September, a secret order to the earl of Mar, already appointed his commander-in-chief for Scotland, to go immediately into that kingdom, and to take up arms. Mar, who had been secretary of state for Scotland during the reign of queen Anne, and who had great influence in the Highlands, did not hesitate one moment to obey. He instantly left London, attended by lieutenant-general Hamilton, who had long served with distinction in Holland and Flanders, and as soon as he reached his own country, having assembled about three hundred of his friends and vassals, he proclaimed the Pretender, under the name of James VIII. of Scotland, and set up his standard at Braemar, on September 9, 1715, summoning all good subjects to join him, in order to restore their rightful sovereign to the throne of his ancestors, and deliver the nation from the tyranny of George, duke of Brunswick, usurper of the British monarchy. In consequence of this, and a declaration by which it was followed, Mar was soon joined by the marquesses of Huntley and Tullibardine, the earls Mareschal and Southesk, and all the heads of the Jacobite clans. With their assistance, he was able in a few weeks to collect about nine thousand men, well armed and accoutred. He took possession of the town of Perth, where he established his headquarters, and made himself master of almost all that part of Scotland which lies beyond the Frith of Forth.

This was great and rapid success; but the duke of Argyle had already received orders to march against the rebels, with all the forces of North Britain; and the Pretender's affairs had suffered, in the meantime, an irre-

parable (*not to be remedied*) injury in another quarter. The jealousy of government being roused by the precipitate (*hasty*) insurrection of Mar, the lords Lansdowne and Duplin, the earl of Jersey, sir William Wyndham, and other Jacobite leaders, who had agreed to raise the west of England, were taken into custody on suspicion. The whole plan of a rebellion, in that part of the kingdom, was disconcerted. The gentry were intimidated, the people overawed, so that the duke of Ormond, when he landed, was denied a night's lodging in a country where he expected to head an army and re-establish a king. He returned to France with the discouraging intelligence; but, as soon as the vessel that carried him could be refitted, astonishing as it may seem, he made a second attempt to land in the same part of the island. What he could propose, by this second attempt, his best friends could never comprehend; and they were of opinion, that a storm, in which he was in danger of being cast away, and which forced him back to the French coast, saved him from a yet greater peril—that of perishing on the scaffold.

The Pretender's affairs wore a less unfavourable aspect for a time, in the north of England. Mr. Foster, a gentleman of some influence in Northumberland, with the lords Derwentwater, Widdrington, and other Jacobite leaders, there took up arms, and assembled a considerable force. But as their troops consisted chiefly of cavalry, they wrote to the earl of Mar to send them a reinforcement of infantry. This request was readily complied with. Brigadier Mackintosh was ordered to join them with eighteen hundred Highlanders. In the meantime, having failed in an attempt upon Newcastle, and being informed that Mackintosh had already crossed the Forth, they marched forward to meet him. On their way, they were joined by a body of horse, under the earls of Carnwath and Wintoun, the viscount Kenmuir, and other persons of distinction. They passed the Tweed at Kelso; and when they had formed a junction with Mackintosh, a council of war was called, to deliberate on their future proceedings.

In this council little unanimity could be expected, and as little was found. To march immediately towards the west of Scotland, and press the duke of Argyle on one side, while the earl of Mar attacked him on the

other, seemed the most rational plan; as a victory over that nobleman, which they could scarcely have failed to obtain, would have put the Pretender at once in possession of all North Britain. Such a proposal was made by the earl of Wintoun, and agreed to by all the Scottish leaders; but the English insisted on repassing the Tweed, and attacking general Carpenter, who had been sent with only nine hundred horse, to suppress the rebellion in Northumberland.

From an impatient spirit, mingled with natural jealousy, the rebels adopted neither of these plans, nor embraced any fixed resolution. The English insurgents (*rebels*) persisted in their refusal to penetrate into Scotland. Many of the Highlanders, equally obstinate, attempted in disgust to find their way home; and the remainder reluctantly accompanied Mackintosh and Foster, who entered England by the western border, leaving general Carpenter on the left.

These leaders proceeded by the way of Penrith, Kendal, and Lancaster, to Preston, where they were in hopes of increasing their numbers by the rising of the Catholics of Lancashire. But before they could receive any considerable accession of strength, or erect proper works for the defence of the town, they were informed that general Wilkes was ready to invest it with six regiments of cavalry and one battalion of infantry. They now prepared themselves for resistance, and repelled the first attack of the king's troops with vigour; but Wilkes being joined the next day by three regiments of dragoons, under general Carpenter, the rebels lost all heart, and surrendered at discretion, November 14. Several reduced officers, found to have been in arms against their sovereign, were immediately shot as deserters, the nobles and gentlemen were sent prisoners to London and committed to the Tower; while the common men were confined in the castle of Chester, and other secure places in the country.

The day before the rebellion in England was extinguished by the surrender of Foster and his associates at Preston, the rebels in Scotland received a severe shock from the royal troops. The earl of Mar, after having wasted his time in forming his army, with unnecessary parade, at Perth, resolved to march into England and join his southern friends. With this view he marched to

Auchterarder, where he reviewed his forces, and halted a day, before he attempted to cross the Forth. The duke of Argyle, who lay on the southern side of that river, instead of waiting to dispute the passage of the rebels, marched over the bridge of Stirling, as soon as he was informed of their intention, and encamped within a few miles of the earl of Mar, with his left to the village of Dumblaine, and his right towards Sheriffmuir. His army scarcely exceeded a third part of the number of the rebel host; but he did not despair of success. On the approach of the enemy, finding himself outflanked, and in danger of being surrounded, he altered the disposition and arrangements which he had previously made, and took possession of an eminence to the north-east of Dumblaine. In consequence of this movement, which was attended with some degree of confusion, the left wing of the royal army fell in with the centre of the rebels, composed of the clans, headed by Glengary, the captain of Clanronald, sir John Maclean, Campbell of Glenlyon, Gordon of Glenbucket, and other chieftains. The combat was fierce and bloody, and the Highlanders seemed at one time discouraged by the loss of one of their leaders, when Glengary, waving his bonnet, and crying aloud, "Revenge! revenge!" they rushed up to the muzzles of the muskets of the king's troops, pushed aside the bayonets with their targets, and made great havoc with their broadswords. The left wing of the royal army was quickly broken and routed. Whetham, who commanded it, fled to Stirling, declaring that all was lost.

In the meantime the duke of Argyle, who conducted in person the right wing of the royal army, consisting chiefly of horse, had defeated the left of the rebels, and pursued them with great slaughter as far as the river Allen, in which many of them were drowned. This pursuit, however, though hot, was by no means rapid. The rebels, notwithstanding their habitual dread of cavalry, the shock of which their manner of fighting rendered them little able to resist, frequently made a stand, and endeavoured to renew the combat. And if the earl of Mar, who remained with the victorious part of his army, had possessed only a moderate share of military talents, Argyle would never have dared to revisit the field of battle. He might even have been overpowered

by numbers, and cut off by one body of the rebels, when fatigued with combating the other. But no such attempt being made, and the advantage gained over his left wing not being properly improved, the duke returned triumphant to the scene of action ; and Mar, who had taken post on the top of a hill, with about five thousand of the flower of his army, not only forebore to molest the king's troops, but retired in the night, and hastened to Perth. In the morning, the duke of Argyle, who had been joined by the remains of his left wing, perceiving that the rebels had saved him the trouble of dislodging them, drew off his army towards Stirling, carrying off the enemy's artillery, bread-waggons, and many persons of distinction.

This battle, though not in itself decisive, proved fatal in its consequences to the affairs of the Pretender in Scotland. Lord Lovat, the chief of the Frazers, who seemed disposed to join the rebels, now declared for the established government, and seized the important port of Inverness, from which he drove sir John Mackenzie ; while the earl of Sutherland, who had hitherto been overawed, appeared openly in the same cause. Against these noblemen, Mar detached the marquis of Huntley and the earl of Seaforth, with their numerous vassals. But the rebel chiefs, instead of coming to immediate action, suffered themselves to be amused with negotiations ; and both, after some hesitation, returned to their allegiance under king George. The marquis of Tullibardine also withdrew from the rebel army, in order to defend his own country against the friends of government ; and the clans, disgusted at their ill success, dispersed on the approach of winter, with their usual want of perseverance.

The Pretender, who had hitherto resisted every solicitation to come over, took the unaccountable resolution, in this desperate state of his affairs, of landing in the north of Scotland. He accordingly set sail from Dunkirk in a small vessel, and arrived at Peterhead, December 22, attended only by six gentlemen. He was met at Fetterosse by the earl of Mar, and conducted to Perth. There a regular council was formed, and a day fixed for his coronation at Scone ; but he was diverted from all thoughts of that vain ceremony, by the approach of the

duke of Argyle, who having been reinforced with six thousand Dutch auxiliaries, advanced towards Perth, notwithstanding the rigour (*severity*) of the season.

As that town had no other fortification than a simple wall, and was otherwise unprovided for a siege, the king's troops took possession of it without resistance, 1716. Mar and the Pretender had retired to Montrose, and seeing no prospect of better fortune, they embarked for France with the earl of Melfort and other men of rank. General Gordon and earl Mareschal proceeded northward with the main body of the rebels, by a march so rapid as to elude pursuit. Many who did not expect pardon embarked at Aberdeen for the continent. The common people were conducted to the hills of Badenoch, and there quietly dismissed. The whole country, submitted to the duke of Argyle.

READING LXXXII.

PETER THE GREAT, OF RUSSIA.

Born 1672—Died 1725.

THE history of Europe, perhaps of the world, cannot produce a more extraordinary character than the illustrious subject of the present Reading. The reputation of the conqueror, whose sole delight is to be the thunderbolt of war, lives only in the interested applause and admiration of his own age; while the memory of the father of his country is immortal.

Peter, deservedly surnamed the Great, was born on the 11th June, 1672, and was the youngest son of the czar Alexis Michaeloviche, and consequently grandson of the illustrious head of the Romanoff dynasty. Peter's infancy was beset with dangers.

When the mild Theodore died without offspring, Ivan and Peter, his two brothers, might properly be considered the two most natural candidates to the vacant throne. The former had attained his sixteenth year when the throne was thus left unoccupied; but a sickly constitution blasted (*destroyed*) the vigour both of his mind and

body. His brother Peter, whose mother was Natalia, the second wife of his father Alexis, was yet an infant.

The constant illness of the elder prince, urged the boyards (*noblemen*) to exalt Peter to the throne of his ancestors ; to which arrangement the mild Ivan submitted without reluctance ; but not so his eldest sister Sophia ; who, enraged and disappointed at this election of her step-brother Peter, gained over the strelitzes (*Russian guards*), by whose means the injured Ivan was restored to his lost prerogative (*privilege*) of birth.

Sophia and her favourite Gulitzin, emboldened by the support and protection of the strelitzes, whom they gorged with the spoils of those boyards who had espoused the cause of Peter, took possession of the sovereign authority, which they held until the year 1689.

At this period, Peter, now seventeen years of age, displayed the first dawns of that undaunted firmness which characterised his maturer (*more advanced*) years. Conscious of his ability to administer the public affairs for the benefit of the people, he scorned to disguise the rancour (*hatred*) of heart, which he entertained towards that usurper of his power, his daring sister. Their dislike, increased by years, and fomented by the arts of faction, at last reached to such an implacable aversion for each other, as manifested itself on every public occasion.

But the hour now approached when these dissensions were to cease by the fall of Sophia and the exaltation of Peter. Ancient custom required the sovereigns of Russia to assist (*be present*) at certain festivals of the Greek church, in their most sumptuous habits of ceremony. To one of these Sophia repaired, wearing on her brow a diadem, and invested with all the other emblems of sovereign authority. The despised Peter appeared next in the solemn procession ; but unable to stifle his transports of indignation at the superior majesty assumed by his sister, he abruptly retired from the church and the city, to Kolumna, followed by his friends, who eagerly sought every opportunity to exasperate the resentment of their prince.

Peter's decision, not less than the exertions of his friends, ultimately succeeded in depriving Sophia of her unjust power, and that princess, after vainly attempting

to escape into Poland, was arrested and conducted to the Devitchee, a nunnery, where she ended her days, in all the misery consequent upon blighted ambition.

Our present object being to exhibit Peter rather in his private, than public capacity, we shall pass over the chief political events of his reign, in order to consider him more at length in his domesticity.

The mansion in which he was accustomed to repose himself, after he had laid the foundations of St. Petersburg, was a wooden cottage. This humble dwelling of a powerful prince, has since been covered by a brick building standing on arches, in order to preserve it as a memorial of its illustrious occupant. The whole stock of royal moveables was confined to a bed, table, compass, a few books and papers. In the shortest days of the winter, which are not more than seven hours in these latitudes, the indefatigable sovereign was prepared for the various and important duties of the day, at four in the morning. It was his usual custom to labour alone for the public service till the morning light. Sometimes he employed that time, which most of his subjects dedicated to rest, in the consideration and despatch of urgent business with his ministers.

The royal table was always served at one; and in the choice of his dishes he was not less distinguished from the poorest of his subjects, than by the splendour of his attire. His ordinary food consisted of soup, with sour crout, which the Russians call *chtchi*, gruel, lampreys, cold roast meat seasoned, pickled cucumbers, or salted lemons, and pig with sour cream for sauce; while Lini-bourg cheese was uncommonly agreeable to his plebeian appetite. But he compensated (*made up*) for this hasty and frugal dinner by such copious draughts of French and Hungarian wines, and of the strong liquors of his country, that his guests might easily perceive that he was not very scrupulous in observing the laws of sobriety. Cast in a mould of uncommon strength, and delighting in violent exercises, one repast could not satisfy the voraciousness of his appetite. To whatever place his various avocations (*affairs*) called him, he never forgot to be provided with a sufficient quantity of cold meat.

Instead of those magnificent entertainments of the ancient czars, where the table was oppressed by the

weight of the gold and silver plate, the parsimonious (*frugal*) emperor established a *mess* with his ministers, his generals, and favourites, each of whom paid his share, which rarely exceeded the value of a ducat. But if the table was not served with a profusion of costly dishes, there was no economy observed in the distribution of wine.

It was the invariable maxim of the czars to give their first audience to ambassadors with every circumstance of pomp which might display the greatness of the empire. The uncereemonious Peter presented himself to these representatives of their sovereigns, without the smallest attention to any of the rules prescribed (*laid down*) by courtly etiquette (*ceremony*). It was his constant saying, that they were sent to be introduced to *him*, and not to his halls or palaces. One instance will be sufficient to show, that in this respect his actions perfectly corresponded with his words.

When the grand marshal and ambassador of the Prussian court, Printz, wished to present his credentials to the conqueror of the renowned Charles—to the ruler of an immense empire, he was conducted on board of an unfinished ship. Unaccustomed to such little ceremony, he demanded to be ushered into the presence of the Russian emperor. The attendants pointed to a man who was actively employed in attaching some ropes to the top of a mast. Peter, for such was the dexterous sailor, on recognising the ambassador, called on him to ascend the shrouds (*rope ladders*), but the astonished and stately Prussian pleaded his inability to perform so new and dangerous a task, upon which the alert monarch then instantly descended, and held a conference with him on deck.

The unlimited obedience which Peter exacted from his subjects, had so entirely excluded from his ears every word which militated against duty and homage, that he was accustomed to confound the independence of foreign ministers, with the servility of his people, and to expect from their courtesy a similar acquiescence (*consent*) in his caprices (*whims*). One day, this proficient in navigation proposed to them an aquatic excursion from St. Petersburg to Cronstadt. The ambassadors assembled in a Dutch packet-boat, which sailed along with its

illustrious freight under the guidance of the scientific emperor. Before they had measured half their voyage, a strong wind blew from the west, a slight mist was perceived, and a black cloud gathered at a distance in the horizon. The experience of the royal pilot predicted the approach of a storm ; and his nautical (*naval*) judgment was not deceived. Its appearance presently became dreadful, while the livid glare of lightning, and the tremendous peals of thunder, did not serve to pacify the terrors of the diplomatic crew. One of them, whom we may suppose to be the least familiar with these terrific scenes, conjured the emperor, with every sign of fear, to hasten towards the land. "I beseech your majesty," exclaimed the angry and terrified ambassador, "to return to St. Petersburg or to Peterhoff, which is still nearer, and to remember that the object of my mission to Russia was not to be drowned : for if I perish here (and the present prospect shows me no other destiny), your majesty must be responsible to my master for the loss of his representative." "Sir," replied the emperor, with an unconsoling and mortifying pleasantry, "if you are drowned, we must all share the same fate, and then none will remain to account to your court for the untimely end of your excellency."

READING LXXXIII.

PETER THE GREAT OF RUSSIA.—CONCLUDED.

THE most elevated station offered no safeguard to the bold tyranny of Peter, who delighted to reduce all his subjects to the same common level of dependence. His general of the police, Desfere, was one day chosen to accompany him in his two-wheeled open carriage. In their ride, they were obliged to cross a small bridge, the planks of which were so loose and deranged, that they could not pass over it without incurring some danger. This unexpected impediment (*obstacle*) compelled the emperor to alight ; but while the necessary adjustment (*repairing*) was making by his *dentchiks* (*servants*), a shower of blows from the cane of the enraged Peter

admonished his companion to exercise a keener vigilance in the management of his high trust.

It cannot, however, be denied, that the czar was unfeeling, impatient, furious under the influence of passion, and a slave to his own arbitrary will : hence he was shamefully prodigal of the lives of his subjects, and never endeavoured to combine their ease or happiness with his glory and personal greatness. He seemed to think that they were formed solely for his, not he for their, aggrandizement. His savage ferocity turned itself even against his own blood. Alexis (his only son by his first wife) having led an abandoned course of life, and discovered an inclination to obstruct his favourite plan of civilization, he compelled him to sign, in 1718, a solemn renunciation of his right to the crown ; and afterwards assembled an extraordinary court, consisting of the principal Russian nobility and clergy, who condemned that unhappy, though seemingly weak and dissolute prince, to suffer death, but without describing the manner in which it should be inflicted. The event, however, took place, and suddenly Alexis was seized with strong convulsions, and expired soon after the dreadful sentence was announced to him ; but whether in consequence of the agony occasioned by such alarming intelligence, or by other means, is uncertain. All that is known is, that Peter then had, by his beloved Catherine, an infant son, who bore his own name, and whom he intended for his successor ; and as the birth of this son had probably accelerated (*hastened*) the prosecution, and increased the severity of the proceedings against Alexis, whom his father had before threatened to disinherit, it is not impossible or improbable that the friends of Catherine might hasten the death of that unfortunate prince, in order to save the court from the odium of his public execution, and the emperor from the excruciating (*painful*) reflections that must have followed such an awful transaction.

The death of the czarowitz (*eldest son of the czar*), whatever might be its cause, was soon followed by that of young Peter, whom the emperor, on the renunciation of Alexis, had ordered his subjects of all ranks and conditions, to acknowledge as lawful heir to the crown, "by oath before the holy altar, upon the holy gospels, kissing the cross."

So great was his distress at this event, that, while it lasted, Russia remained without a sovereign, the senate without a magistrate, and the army without a chief, to execute the ordinary functions of the state. Catherine, although tenderly alive to the feelings of mother and wife, refused to indulge her grief at the expense of the public interest, and tried every gentle art to gain admittance to her husband. But finding all her former influence absorbed (*swallowed up*) in the vortex (*whirlpool*) of this domestic misfortune, as a last resource she applied to the sage and decisive councils of Dolgoroukof for assistance. The senator endeavoured to console her sorrow by the assurance, that on the morrow she should enjoy the satisfaction of beholding the emperor again return to the various and important duties of his vast empire. At an early hour he repaired to the chamber of the disconsolate czar; several loud knocks announced his visit; but the silence which reigned around the forbidden apartment, might have tempted him to believe himself in the mansion of the dead, rather than in the imperial palace of Peterhoff. Determined to break in upon his privacy (*retirement*), he called on this terrible monarch, with an authoritative voice, to open the door; and on his refusal, he threatened to enter his chamber by force. "If," exclaimed the enraged monarch, "I do open it, my first command shall be for you to suffer death for this presumption." But when the door was thrown back, the dignified firmness of this patriotic subject struck a fear into him, which banished all thoughts of his tyrannical intention. "I come," said the intrepid nobleman, "to demand whom we shall nominate as emperor, since you affect to renounce all the duties attached to that exalted station." The conquered czar embraced his friend, and burst into tears. Dolgoroukof seized the favourable moment, conducted him to his joyful empress, and introduced the senate to him, who were graciously invited to dinner, every intention of retirement being henceforth banished from his mind.

The vigorous mind of Peter had invariably laboured to convince his subjects, that superstition does not open the passage to the seat of eternal happiness. He was, therefore, the decided and unforgiving foe to all those impositions, which were expressly designed to cajole (*deceive*) and inflame the superstitious passions of the vulgar.

Information had been given to him, that, impelled by the call of fanaticism, crowds of people were collected in the church of St. Petersburg to adore the image of the virgin, and to witness the sight of her miraculous tears. Ever eager to contribute to the downfall of credulity, so hostile to the progress of true faith, he hastened to the church to detect the fraud in the sight of the deluded people. On his arrival, he commanded this object of popular devotion to be unloosed from the place, in order to undergo his strict and profane examination. In the rites of the Russians, the images are painted on wood. The weeping figure had a double compartment; between the two coverings was a receptacle for oil, terminating in small apertures (*openings*), near the corners of the eyes. The heat of the burning wax around the image produced the desired effect on the gushing oil, which pursued its course through the secret openings. The skilful and bold hand of Peter, after having successfully demonstrated the mechanism, to the astonishment of the spectators, carried the disgraced saint to his cabinet, to be associated with other curious specimens of art.

The same good sense of Peter, which endeavoured to defend the purity of the Gospel from the contagious breath of superstition, wisely resolved that her timid suggestions should never undermine the foundations of justice. It was the invariable and absurd custom of the ancient czars, whenever their greatness was humbled by the hand of sickness, to order the gates of the prisons to be thrown open to robbers and murderers sentenced to death, under the vain hope that their impious prayers might arrest the stroke of fate. The superstition of the criminal judge wished Peter to follow this example. "What," said the enlightened prince, in a faint but composed tone of voice; "if God turn a deaf ear to the supplications of my virtuous subjects, can you suppose that my malady will be abated by the liberation and prayers of these assassins? But depart, and let sentence be passed to-morrow on these malefactors; for if anything can incline heaven to avert (*turn aside*) the impending (*hanging over*) danger, it will be the execution of their just sentence."

The year 1725 witnessed the close of the life of this extraordinary monarch. Among the various festivals

which the superstition of Russia celebrated with peculiar honour, the benediction of the waters may be classed among the most solemn and magnificent. As often as this important day returns, which comes in a season of the year little favourable to those who are afflicted with illness, the priests approached the river with all imaginable pomp, broke the ice, blessed the water, and baptized the infants. All the regiments in the capital paraded in silent order on the ice, nor did it unfrequently happen, (such was the severity of the weather on this holy day,) that the limbs of the soldiers were frozen. Custom prescribed the attendance of the monarch at this ancient and imposing ceremony. A violent cold was the consequence of Peter's visit, who already laboured under a severe and virulent disease. The heat of his fever increased the pains incidental to the malady which afflicted him; and after ten days it had acquired such a fatal ascendancy over his strength, as to baffle all the efforts of medical skill. He himself felt that the hour was rapidly approaching when he must bid an everlasting adieu to that country, the promotion of whose fame and prosperity was the great incentive to all his labours.

The anguish of his malady at last became so incessant, that he suffered these disconsolate words to escape his mouth—"Behold in me, how justly man is entitled to the appellation of a miserable animal!" The tortured emperor received the unction which the Greek church administers to the dying, and it was imagined that the following night would have released him from all his sufferings; but such was the vigour of his constitution, that he struggled the whole day against the hand of death. The last broken words which he uttered intimated his wish to behold the princess Anne, the issue of his second marriage, to whom he intended to dictate his last commands. When his daughter arrived he was speechless, and his left side paralysed; and in the arms of Catherine, whose real or affected love was exemplary during his illness, he expired on the 28th January, 1725, at four o'clock in the morning, in the fifty-second year of his life, and in the forty-third of a most glorious and successful reign.

The body of Peter was carried into the great hall of the palace, followed by all the imperial family, the senate,

all persons of the first distinction, and a promiscuous crowd of people. The corpse of their sovereign, adorned with the vain symbols of greatness, was then deposited in the state-chamber, to which all had free access, to kiss that hand which had been so much exerted in his country's honour, until the day of his interment. It has been asserted by some writers, that he was poisoned by his wife and successor, Catherine ; but the silence of her most implacable enemies on this subject, affords the most decisive proof that she did not mount the throne by an act which would have imprinted so indelible a stain upon the honour of her name.

READING LXXXIV.

CHARLES XII., KING OF SWEDEN.

Born 1682—Killed 1718.

THE life of this warlike monarch may be considered as one of the most extraordinary presented in history. No prince, perhaps, ever had fewer weaknesses, or possessed so many eminent, with so few amiable qualities, as Charles XII. of Sweden. Rigidly (*strictly*) just, but void of lenity ; romantically brave, but blind to consequences ; profusely generous, without knowing how to oblige ; temperate, without delicacy ; a stranger to the pleasures of society, and but slightly acquainted with books ; a Goth in his manners, and a savage in his resentments, resolute even to obstinacy, inexorable (*pitiless*) in vengeance, and inaccessible to sympathy, he has little to conciliate our love or esteem. But his wonderful intrepidity and perseverance in enterprise, his firmness under misfortune, his contempt of danger, and his enthusiastic passion for glory, will ever command the admiration of mankind.

After the celebrated battle of Pultawa, which was fought between Charles and the czar, Peter the Great, the former having been completely defeated, arrived with difficulty, accompanied by only three hundred of his guards, at Bender, a Turkish town in Bessarabia. He imme-

diately set about repairing his misfortune, and despatched fourteen hundred men into Poland, intending to join them there himself, when sufficiently recovered from his wounds. This body was, however, attacked by the Russians, who made the whole of them prisoners. Charles's next plan was, with the assistance of France, to persuade Turkey to declare war against Russia; but all his attempts proved ineffectual, for the divan (*Turkish council*), wearied out with his importunities, came to a resolution to send him back, not with a numerous army, as a king whose cause the sultan intended to support, but as a troublesome fugitive whom he wanted to get rid of, attended by a sufficient guard. For this purpose, the sultan sent Charles (April 19, 1712) a letter, in which, after styling him a very powerful prince among the votaries (*followers*) of Jesus, brilliant in majesty, and a lover of honour and glory, he peremptorily (*boldly*) required his departure. "Though we had proposed," says the sultan, "to send our victorious army once more against the czar, we have found reason to change our resolution. To avoid the just resentment which we had expressed at his delaying to execute the treaty concluded on the banks of the Pruth, and afterwards renewed at our sublime Porte, that prince has surrendered into our hands the castle and city of Asoph, and endeavoured, through the mediation of England and Holland, our ancient allies, to cultivate a lasting peace with us. We have therefore granted his request, and delivered to his plenipotentiaries (*envoys having full power to make a treaty*), who remain with us as hostages (*sureties*), our imperial ratification, having first received his from their hands. We have given our inviolable orders to the khan of the Crimea and the pasha Ismael for your return to the north. You must, therefore, prepare to set out, under the protection of Providence, and with an honourable guard, on purpose to return to your dominions, taking care to pass through those of Poland in a peaceable manner."

When Ismael intimated this requisition to Charles, he replied that he could not commence his journey unless he had a sufficient sum for the payment of his debts. The pasha asked how much would be necessary? The king, at a venture, said a thousand purses. Ismael acquainted the porté with his request; and the sultan readily acceded

(consented) to it. "Our imperial munificence," says he, in a letter to the pasha, "hath granted a thousand purses to the king of Sweden, which shall be sent to Bender, to remain in your custody until the departure of the Swedish monarch ; and then be given him, with two hundred purses more, as an additional mark of our imperial liberality."

Notwithstanding the strictness of these orders, Grothusen, the king's treasurer, found means to get the money from the pasha before the departure of his master, under pretence of making the necessary preparations for his journey ; and a few days after, to procure a further delay, Charles demanded another grant of a thousand purses. Confounded at this request, Ismael stood for a moment speechless, and was observed to drop a tear. "I shall lose my head," said he, "for having obliged your majesty !" and he took his leave with a sorrowful countenance. He now wrote to the Porte in his own vindication, protesting that he only delivered the twelve hundred purses, upon a solemn promise from the Swedish minister that his master would instantly depart.

The governor's excuse was admitted, and the displeasure of the sultan fell wholly upon Charles. Having convoked an extraordinary divan, he spoke to the following purport, his eyes flashing with indignation :—"I hardly ever knew the king of Sweden, except by his defeat at Pultawa, and the request he made to me for an asylum (*refuge*) in my dominions ; I have not, I believe, any need of his assistance, or any cause to love or to fear him. Nevertheless, without being influenced by any other motive than the hospitality of a true believer, directed by my natural generosity, which sheds the dew of beneficence upon the high as well as the low,—upon strangers, as well as my own subjects,—I have received, protected, and maintained that prince, his ministers, officers, and soldiers, according to the dignity of a king ; and, for the space of three years and a half, have continued to load him with favours. I have granted him a considerable guard to conduct him back to his own kingdom. He asked a thousand purses to pay some debts, though I defray all his expenses ; instead of a thousand, I granted him twelve hundred purses ; and, having received

these, he yet refuses to depart, until he shall obtain a thousand more, and a stronger guard, although that already appointed is more than sufficient. I therefore ask you, whether it would be a breach of the laws of hospitality to send away this prince, and whether foreign powers can reasonably tax me with cruelty and injustice, if I should use force to expedite (*hasten*) his departure?"

All the members of the divan answered, that such conduct would be consistent with strict justice. An order to that effect was accordingly sent to the pasha, who immediately informed Charles of it. "Obey your master, if you dare!" said the king; "and leave my presence instantly." The governor did not need this insult to animate him to his duty. He coolly prepared to execute the commands of his sovereign; and Charles, in spite of the earnest entreaties of his friends, resolved, with his attendants, and three hundred Swedish soldiers, to oppose a numerous army of Turks and Tartars, having ordered regular entrenchments to be thrown up for that purpose. After some hesitation, occasioned by the uncommon nature of the service, the word of command was given, February 12. The Turks and their associates marched up to the Swedish fortifications, and the cannon began to play. The little camp was quickly forced, and all the soldiers were made prisoners.

Charles, who was then on horseback, between the camp and his house, took refuge in the latter, attended by a few general officers and domestics. With these he fired from the windows upon the Turks and Tartars; killed some of them, and bravely maintained his post, till the house was in flames, and one-half of the roof fell in. In this extremity, a sentinel, named Rosen, had the presence of mind to observe that the chancery-house had a stone roof, and was proof against fire; that they ought to sally forth, take possession of that house, and defend themselves to the last extremity. "There is a true Swede!" cried Charles, rushing out like a madman at the head of a few desperadoes (*desperate men*). The Turks at first recoiled (*fell back*), from respect to the person of the king; but suddenly recollecting their orders, they surrounded the Swedes, and Charles was made prisoner, with all his attendants. Being in boots, as usual, he entangled himself with his spurs, and fell. A number of

Janizaries sprang upon him. He threw his sword up into the air, to avoid the mortification of surrendering it, and some of the Janizaries taking hold of his legs, and others of his arms, he was carried in that manner to the tent of the pasha.

Ismael gave Charles his own apartments, and ordered him to be served as a king, but not without taking the precaution to plant a guard of Janizaries at the door of the chamber. The next day, he was conducted toward Adrianople as a captive, in a chariot covered with scarlet.

So entirely was the king of Sweden wedded to his own opinions, that, although abandoned by all the world, deprived of a great part of his dominions, a fugitive among the Turks, whose liberality he had abused, and now led captive, without knowing whither he was to be carried, he still reckoned on the favours of fortune, and hoped the Ottoman court would send him home, at the head of a hundred thousand men. This idea he continued to indulge during the whole time of his confinement. He was at first committed to the castle of Deniertash, in the neighbourhood of Adrianople, but was afterwards allowed to reside at Demotica, a little town about six leagues distant from that city, and near the famous river Hebrus, now called Mariza. There he renewed his intrigues; and a French adventurer counterfeiting (*pretending*) madness, had the boldness to present, in his name, a memorial to the grand seignior. This, however, as was to be expected, produced no change in the condition of Charles, who still remained a prisoner, and who, apprehending that the Turks might not be disposed to treat him with the respect due to his royal person, or might subject him to various degradations, resolved to keep his bed, during his captivity, under pretence of sickness. This resolution he is said to have persisted in for ten months.

Roused, at length, from his affected sickness, by the intelligence that his ministers, who acted as his regents in Sweden, driven to despair by the exigences of the state and the miseries of the people, had come to the resolution of no longer consulting him in regard to their proceedings, Charles signified to the vizier his desire of returning through Germany to his own dominions. The Turkish minister neglected nothing which might facilitate

that event. In the mean time, the king, whose principles were perfectly despotic, wrote to the senate, that if they pretended to assume the reins of government, he would send them one of his boots, from which they should receive his orders ! And when the preparations for his departure were completed, he set out with a convoy, consisting of sixty loaded waggons, and three hundred horse.

On his approach to the frontiers of Germany, he had the satisfaction to learn, that orders had been given for his being received in every part of the imperial dominions, with the respect due to his rank. But he had no inclination to bear the fatigue of so much pomp and ceremony. He therefore took leave of his Turkish convoy, as soon as he arrived at Targowitz, on the confines of Transylvania ; and, assembling his attendants, desired them to give themselves no further concern about him, but to proceed with all expedition to Stralsund. In disguise, and in company with only two officers, he reached that town after a fatiguing journey ; and without considering the wretched state of his affairs, he immediately despatched orders to his generals, to renew the war against all his enemies, with fresh vigour.

Having in 1718 undertaken a second expedition into Norway, he invested Frederickshall in December, when the ground was as hard as iron, and the cold so intense, that the soldiers on duty frequently dropped down dead. In order to animate them, he exposed himself to all the rigour of the climate, as well as to the dangers of the siege, sleeping even in the open air, covered only with his cloak ! One night, December 11, 1718, as he was viewing the progress of the works by starlight, he was killed by a half-pound ball, from a cannon loaded with grape-shot. Though he expired without a groan, the moment he received the blow, he had instinctively grasped the hilt of his sword, and was found with his hand in that position, so truly characteristic of his mind.

READING LXXXV.

THE GREAT EARTHQUAKE AT LISBON.

1755.

THE appalling events of which the following narrative presents a picture, are brought before the eyes of the reader with a force and simplicity which leave no doubt of the exact truth of the details.

“There never was a finer morning seen than the 1st of November; the sun shone out in its full lustre; the whole face of the sky was perfectly serene and clear; and not the least signal or warning of that approaching event, which has made this once flourishing, opulent, and populous city a scene of the utmost horror and desolation, except only such as served to alarm, but scarcely left a moment’s time to fly from the general destruction.

“It was on the morning of this fatal day, between the hours of nine and ten, that I was sat down in my apartment, just finishing a letter, when the papers and table I was writing on began to tremble with a gentle motion, which rather surprised me, as I could not perceive a breath of wind stirring. Whilst I was reflecting with myself what this could be owing to, but without having the least apprehension of the real cause, the whole house began to shake from the very foundation; which at first I imputed to the rattling of several coaches in the main street, which usually passed that way, at this time, from Belem to the palace; but on hearkening more attentively I was soon undeceived, as I found it was owing to a strange frightful kind of noise underground, resembling the hollow distant rumbling of thunder. All this passed in less than a minute, and I must confess I now began to be alarmed, as it naturally occurred to me that this noise might possibly be the forerunner of an earthquake, as one I remembered, which had happened about six or seven years ago, in the island of Madeira, commenced in the same manner, though it did little or no damage.

“Upon this I threw down my pen, and started upon my feet, remaining a moment in suspense, whether I should stay in the apartment or run into the street; as the

danger in both places seemed equal ; and still flattering myself that this tremor might produce no other effects than such inconsiderable ones as had been felt at Madeira ; but in a moment I was roused from my dream, being instantly stunned with a most horrid crash, as every edifice in the city had tumbled down at once. The house I was in shook with such violence, that the upper stories immediately fell, and though my apartment (which was the first floor) did not then share the same fate, yet everything was thrown out of its place in such a manner, that it was with no small difficulty I kept my feet, and expected nothing less than to be soon crushed to death, as the walls continued rocking to and fro in the frightfullest manner, opening in several places ; large stones falling down on every side from the cracks, and the ends of most of the rafters starting out from the roof. To add to this terrifying scene, the sky in a moment became so gloomy that I could now distinguish no particular object ; it was an Egyptian darkness indeed, such as might be felt ; owing, no doubt, to the prodigious clouds of dust and lime raised from so violent a concussion, and, as some reported, to sulphureous exhalations, but this I cannot affirm ; however, it is certain I found myself almost choked for near ten minutes.

As soon as the gloom began to disperse, and the violence of the shock seemed pretty much abated, the first object I perceived in the room was a woman sitting on the floor with an infant in her arms, all covered with dust, pale and trembling. I asked her how she got hither, but her consternation was so great that she could give me no account of her escape. I suppose that when the tremor first began, she ran out of her own house, and finding herself in such imminent danger from the falling stones, retired into the door of mine, which was almost contiguous to hers, for shelter, and when the shock increased, which filled the door with dust and rubbish, ran up stairs into my apartment, which was then open : be it as it might, this was no time for curiosity. I remember the poor creature asked me, in the utmost agony, if I did not think the world was at an end ; at the same time she complained of being choked, and begged, for God's sake, I would procure her a little drink. Upon this I went to a closet where I kept a large jar with

water, (which you know is sometimes a pretty scarce commodity in Lisbon,) but finding it broken in pieces, I told her she must not now think of quenching her thirst, but saving her life, as the house was just falling on our heads, and if a second shock came, would certainly bury us both. I bade her take hold of my arm, and that I would endeavour to bring her into some place of security.

"I shall always look upon it as a particular providence, that I happened on this occasion to be undressed, for had I dressed myself, as I proposed, when I got out of bed, in order to breakfast with a friend, I should, in all probability, have run into the street at the beginning of the shock, as the rest of the people in the house did, and consequently have had my brains dashed out as every one of them had. However, the imminent danger I was in did not hinder me from considering that my present dress, only a gown and slippers, would render my getting over the ruins almost impracticable: I had, therefore, still presence of mind enough left to put on a pair of shoes and a coat, the first that came in my way, which was every thing I saved, and in this dress I hurried down stairs, the woman with me, holding by my arm, and made directly to that end of the street which opens to the Tagus. Finding the passage this way entirely blocked up with the fallen houses to the height of their second stories, I turned back to the other end, which led into the main street, (the common thoroughfare to the palace,) and having helped the woman over a vast heap of ruins, with no small hazard to my own life; just as we were going into this street, as there was one part I could not well climb over without the assistance of my hands as well as feet, I desired her to let go her hold, which she did, remaining two or three feet behind me, at which instant there fell a vast stone from a tottering wall, and crushed both her and the child in pieces. So dismal a spectacle at any other time would have affected me in the highest degree, but the dread I was in of sharing the same fate myself, and the many instances of the same kind which presented themselves all around, were too shocking to make me dwell a moment on this single object.

"I had now a long narrow street to pass, with the houses on each side four or five stories high, all very

old, the greater part already thrown down, or continually falling, and threatening the passengers with inevitable death at every step, numbers of whom lay killed before me, or what I thought far more deplorable—so bruised and wounded that they could not stir to help themselves. For my own part; as destruction appeared to me unavoidable, I only wished I might be made an end of at once, and not have my limbs broken, in which case I could expect nothing else but to be left upon the spot, lingering in misery, like these poor unhappy wretches, without receiving the least succour from any person.

“As self-preservation, however, is the first law of nature, these sad thoughts did not so far prevail as to make me totally despair. I proceeded on as fast as I conveniently could, though with the utmost caution, and having at length got clear of this horrid passage, I found myself safe, and unhurt, in the large open space before St. Paul’s church, which had been thrown down a few minutes before, and buried a great part of the congregation, that was generally pretty numerous, this being reckoned one of the most populous parishes in Lisbon. Here I stood some time, considering what I should do; and not thinking myself safe in this situation, I came to the resolution of climbing over the ruins of the west end of the church, in order to get to the river’s side, that I might be removed as far as possible from the tottering houses, in case of a second shock.

“This, with some difficulty, I accomplished; and here I found a prodigious concourse of people of both sexes, and of all ranks and conditions, among whom I observed some of the principal canons of the patriarchal church, in their purple robes and rochets, as these all go in the habit of bishops; several priests who had run from the altars in their sacerdotal vestments in the midst of their celebrating mass; ladies half-dressed, and some without shoes; all these, whom their mutual dangers had here assembled as to a place of safety, were on their knees at prayers, with the terrors of death in their countenances, every one striking his breast and crying out incessantly *Miserecordia meu Dios*.

“Amidst this crowd I could not avoid taking notice of an old venerable priest, in a stole and surplice, who, I apprehend, had escaped from St. Paul’s. He was con-

tinually moving to and fro among the people, exhorting them to repentance, and endeavouring to comfort them. He told them, with a flood of tears, that God was grievously provoked at their sins, but that if they would call upon the blessed Virgin, she would intercede for them. Every one now flocked around him, earnestly begging his benediction, and happy did that man think himself, who could get near enough to touch the hem of his garment; several I observed had little wooden crucifixes and images of saints in their hands, which they offered me to kiss; and one poor Irishman, I remember, held out a St. Antonio to me for this purpose, and when I gently put his arm aside, as giving him to understand that I desired to be excused this piece of devotion, he asked me, with some indignation, whether I thought there was a God. I verily believe many of the poor bigoted creatures, who saved these useless pieces of wood, left their children to perish. However, you must not imagine that I have now the least inclination to mock at their superstitions. I sincerely pity them, and must own, that a more affecting spectacle was never seen. Their tears, their bitter sighs and lamentations, would have touched the most flinty heart. I knelt down amongst them, and prayed as fervently as the rest, though to a much properer object, the only Being who could hear my prayers to afford me any succour.

“ In the midst of our devotions the second great shock came on, little less violent than the first, and completed the ruin of those buildings which had already been much shattered. The consternation now became so universal, that the shrieks and cries of *Miserecordia* could be distinctly heard from the top of St. Catherine’s Hill, at a considerable distance off, whither a vast number of people had likewise retreated; at the same time we could hear the fall of the parish church there, whereby many persons were killed on the spot, and others mortally wounded. You may judge of the force of this shock, when I inform you it was so violent that I could scarce keep on my knees, but it was attended with some circumstances still more dreadful than the former. On a sudden I heard a general outcry, ‘The sea is coming in, we shall be all lost!’ Upon this, turning my eyes towards the river, which in that place is near four miles broad, I could perceive it heaving and swelling in a most unaccountable manner, as no wind

was stirring. In an instant there appeared, at some small distance, a large body of water, rising, as it were, like a mountain. It came on foaming and roaring, and rushed towards the shore with such impetuosity, that we all immediately ran for our lives as fast as possible; many were actually swept away, and the rest above their waist in water at a good distance from the banks. For my own part, I had the narrowest escape, and should certainly have been lost, had I not grasped a large beam that lay on the ground, till the water returned to its channel, which it did almost at the same instant, with equal rapidity. As there now appeared at least as much danger from the sea as the land, and I scarce knew whither to retire for shelter, I took a sudden resolution of returning back, with my clothes all dripping, to the area of St. Paul's. Here I stood some time, and observed the ships tumbling and tossing about us in a violent storm; some had broken their cables and were carried to the other side of the Tagus; others were whirled round with incredible swiftness; several large boats were turned keel upwards; and all this without any wind, which seemed the more astonishing. It was at the time of which I am now speaking, that the fine new quay, built entirely of rough marble, at an immense expense, was wholly swallowed up, with all the people on it, who had fled thither for safety, and had reason to think themselves out of danger in such a place: at the same time a great number of boats and small vessels, anchored near it (all likewise full of people who had retired thither for the same purpose), were all swallowed up as in a whirlpool, and never more appeared.

“ This last dreadful incident I did not see with my own eyes, as it passed three or four stones' throws from the spot where I then was, but I had the account as here given from several masters of ships, who were anchored within two or three hundred yards of the quay, and saw the whole catastrophe. One of them in particular informed me, that when the second shock came on, he could perceive the *whole* city waving backwards and forwards, like the sea when the wind first begins to rise; that the agitation of the earth was so great even under the river, that it threw up his large anchor from the mooring, which swam, as he termed it, on the surface of the water; that

immediately upon this extraordinary concussion, the river rose at once near twenty feet, and in a moment subsided ; at which instant he saw the quay, with the whole concourse of people upon it, sink down, and at the same time every one of the boats and vessels that were near it were drawn into the cavity, which he supposes instantly closed upon them, inasmuch as not the least sign of a wreck was ever seen afterwards. This account you may give full credit to, for as to the loss of the vessels, it is confirmed by everybody, and with regard to the quay, I went myself a few days after, to convince myself of the truth, and could not find even the ruins of a place, where I had taken so many agreeable walks, as this was the common rendezvous of the factory in the cool of the evening. I found it all deep water, and in some parts scarcely to be fathomed."

READING LXXXVI.

THE GREAT EARTHQUAKE OF LISBON.—CONCLUDED.

"THIS is the only place I could learn which was swallowed up in or about Lisbon, though I saw many large cracks and fissures in different parts ; and one odd phenomenon I must not omit, which was communicated to me by a friend who has a house and wine-cellars on the other side the river, viz. that the dwelling-house being, first terribly shaken, which made all the family run out, there presently fell down a vast high rock near it ; that upon this the river rose and subsided in the manner already mentioned, and immediately a great number of small fissures appeared in several contiguous pieces of ground, from whence there spouted out, like a *jet d'eau*, a large quantity of fine white sand, to a prodigious height. It is not to be doubted the bowels of the earth must have been excessively agitated to cause these surprising effects ; but whether the shocks were owing to any sudden explosion of various minerals mixing together, or to air pent up, and struggling for vent, or to a collection of subterraneous waters forcing a passage, God only knows. As to the fiery eruptions then talked of, I

believe they are without foundation, though it is certain I heard several complaining of strong sulphureous smells, a dizziness in their heads, a sickness in their stomachs, and difficulty of respiration, not that I felt any such symptoms myself.

“I had not been long in the area of St. Paul’s, when I felt the third shock, which though somewhat less violent than the two former, the sea rushed in again, and retired with the same rapidity, and I remained up to my knees in water, though I had gotten upon a small eminence at some distance from the river, with the ruins of several intervening houses to break its force. At this time I took notice the waters retired so impetuously, that some vessels were left quite dry, which rode in seven fathom water; the river thus continued alternately rushing on and retiring several times together, in such sort, that it was justly dreaded Lisbon would now meet the same fate which a few years ago had befallen the city of Lima;* and no doubt had this place lain open to the sea, and the force of the waves not been somewhat broken by the winding of the bay, the lower part of it at least would have been totally destroyed.

“The master of a vessel, which arrived here just after the 1st of November, assured me that he felt the shock above forty leagues at sea so sensibly, that he really concluded he had struck upon a rock, till he threw out the lead and could find no bottom, nor could he possibly guess at the cause, till the melancholy sight of this desolate city left him no room to doubt of it. The two first shocks in fine were so violent, that several pilots were of opinion, the situation of the bar, at the mouth of the Tagus, was changed. Certain it is that one vessel, attempting to pass through the usual channel, foundered, and another struck on the sands, and was at first given over for lost, but at length got through. There was another great shock after this, which pretty much affected the river, but I think not so violently as the preceding, though several persons assured me, that as they were riding on horseback in the great road leading to Belem, one side of which lies open to the river, the waves rushed in with so much rapidity that they were obliged to gallop as

* This happened in 1746.

fast as possible to the upper grounds, for fear of being carried away.

“I was now in such a situation that I knew not which way to turn myself; if I remained there, I was in danger from the sea; if I retired further from the shore, the houses threatened certain destruction, and, at last, I resolved to go to the Mint, which, being a low and very strong building, had received no considerable damage, except in some of the apartments towards the river. The party of soldiers, which is every day set there on guard, had all deserted the place, and the only person that remained was the commanding officer, a nobleman's son, of about seventeen or eighteen years of age, whom I found standing at the gate. As there was still a continued tremor of the earth, and the place where we now stood (being within twenty or thirty feet of the opposite houses, which were all tottering) appeared too dangerous, the court-yard likewise being full of water, we both retired inward to a hillock of stones and rubbish: here I entered into conversation with him, and having expressed my admiration that one so young should have the courage to keep his post, when every one of his soldiers had deserted theirs, the answer he made was, though he were sure the earth would open and swallow him up, he scorned to think of flying from his post. In short, it was owing to the magnanimity of this young man that the Mint, which at this time had upwards of two millions of money in it, was not robbed; and indeed I do him no more than justice, in saying, that I never saw any one behave with equal serenity and composure, on occasions much less dreadful than the present. I believe I might remain in conversation with him near five hours: and though I was now grown faint from the constant fatigue I had undergone, and having not yet broken my fast, yet this had not so much effect upon me as the anxiety I was under for a particular friend, with whom I was to have dined that day, and who, lodging at the top of a very high house in the heart of the city, and being a stranger to the language, could not but be in the utmost danger: my concern, therefore, for his preservation, made me determine, at all events, to go and see what was become of him, upon which I took my leave of the officer.

“As I thought it would be the height of rashness to venture back through the same narrow street I had so providentially escaped from, I judged it safest to return over the ruins of St. Paul’s to the river-side, as the water now seemed little agitated. From hence I proceeded, with some hazard, to the large space before the Irish convent of Corpo Santo, which had been thrown down, and buried a great number of people who were hearing mass, besides some of the friars ; the rest of the community were standing in the area, looking with dejected countenances towards the ruins ; from this place I took my way to the back street leading to the palace, having the ship-yard on one side, but found the further passage, opening into the principal street, stopped up by the ruins of the Opera-house, one of the solidest and most magnificent buildings of the kind in Europe, and just finished at a prodigious expense ; a vast heap of stones, each of several tons weight, had entirely blocked up the front of Mr. Bristow’s house, which was opposite to it, and Mr. Ward, his partner, told me the next day, that he was just that instant going out at the door, and had actually set one foot over the threshold, when the west end of the Opera-house fell down, and had he not in a moment started back, he should have been crushed into a thousand pieces.

“From hence I turned back, and attempted getting by the other way into the great Square of the Palace, twice as large as Lincoln’s-Inn-Fields, one side of which had been taken up by the noble quay I spoke of, now no more ; but this passage was likewise obstructed by the stones fallen from the great arched gateway : I could not help taking particular notice, that all the apartments wherein the royal family used to reside were thrown down, and themselves, without some extraordinary miracle, must unavoidably have perished, had they been there at the time of the shock. Finding this passage impracticable, I turned to the other arched-way which led to the new square of the palace, not the eighth part so spacious as the other ; one side of which was taken up by the patriarchal church, which also served for the chapel-royal, and the other by a most magnificent building of modern architecture—probably, indeed, by far the most so—not yet completely finished ; as to the former, the roof and part

of the front walls were thrown down, and the latter, notwithstanding their solidity, had been so shaken, that several large stones fell from the top, and every part seemed disjointed. The square was full of coaches, chariots, chaises, horses, and mules, deserted by their drivers and attendants, as well as their owners.

“ The nobility, gentry, and clergy, who were assisting at divine service when the earthquake began, fled away with the utmost precipitation, every one where his fears carried him, leaving the splendid apparatus of the numerous altars to the mercy of the first comer : but this did not so much affect me, as the distress of the poor animals, who seemed sensible of their hard fate ; some few were killed, others wounded, but the greater part, which had received no hurt, were left there to starve.

“ From this square, the way led to my friend’s lodgings, through a long, steep, and narrow street : the new scenes of horror I met with here exceed all description ; nothing could be heard but sighs and groans. I did not meet with a soul in the passage who was not bewailing the death of his nearest relations and dearest friends, or the loss of all his substance ; I could hardly take a single step, without treading on the dead, or the dying : in some places lay coaches, with their masters, horses, and riders, *almost* crushed in pieces ; here mothers with infants in their arms ; there ladies richly dressed, priests, friars, gentlemen, mechanics, either in the same condition, or just expiring ; some had their backs or thighs broken, others vast stones on their breasts ; some lay almost buried in the rubbish, and, crying out in vain to the passengers for succour, were left to perish with the rest.

“ At length I arrived at the spot opposite to the house where my friend, for whom I was so anxious, resided ; and finding this as well as the contiguous buildings thrown down (which made me give him over for lost) I now thought of nothing else but saving my own life in the best manner I could, and in less than an hour got to a public-house, kept by one Morley, near the English burying-ground, about half a mile from the city, where I still remain, with a great number of my countrymen, as well as Portuguese, in the same wretched circumstances, having almost ever since lain on the ground, and

never once within doors, with scarcely any covering to defend me from the inclemency of the night air, which, at this time, is exceeding sharp and piercing.

"Perhaps you may think the present doleful subject here concluded; but, alas! the horrors of the 1st of November are sufficient to fill a volume. As soon as it grew dark, another scene presented itself little less shocking than those already described—the whole city appeared in a blaze, which was so bright that I could easily see to read by it. It may be said without exaggeration, it was on fire at least in a hundred different places at once, and thus continued burning for six days together, without intermission, or the least attempt being made to stop its progress.

"It went on consuming every thing the earthquake had spared, and the people were so dejected and terrified, that few or none had courage enough to venture down to save any part of their substance; every one had his eyes turned towards the flames, and stood looking on with silent grief, which was only interrupted by the cries and shrieks of women and children calling on the saints and angels for succour, whenever the earth began to tremble, which was so often this night, and indeed I may say ever since, that the tremors, more or less, did not cease for a quarter of an hour together. I could never learn that this terrible fire was owing to any subterraneous eruption, as some reported, but to three causes, which, all concurring at the same time, will naturally account for the prodigious havoc it made. The 1st of November being All Saints' Day, a high festival among the Portuguese, every altar in every church and chapel (some of which have more than twenty) was illuminated with a number of wax tapers and lamps, as customary; these setting fire to the curtains and timber-work that fell with the shock, the conflagration spread to the neighbouring houses, and being there joined with the fires in the kitchen chimneys, increased to such a degree, that it might easily have destroyed the whole city, though no other cause had concurred, especially as it met with no interruption.

"But what would appear incredible to you, were the fact less public and notorious, is, that a gang of hardened villains, who had been confined, and got out of prison when the wall fell, at the first shock, were busily employed

in setting fire to those buildings which stood some chance of escaping the general destruction. I cannot conceive what could have induced them to this hellish work, except to add to the horror and confusion, that they might by this means have the better opportunity of plundering with security. But there was no necessity for taking this trouble, as they might certainly have done their business without it, since the whole city was so deserted before night, that I believe not a soul remained in it, except those execrable villains, and others of the same stamp. It is possible some among them might have had other motives besides robbing, as one in particular being apprehended (they say he was a Moor, condemned to the galleys) confessed at the gallows, that he had set fire to the king's palace, with his own hand ; at the same time glorying in the action, and declaring with his last breath, that he hoped to have burnt all the royal family. It is likewise generally believed that Mr. Bristow's house, an exceedingly strong edifice, built on vast stone arches, and which had stood the shocks without any great damage, further than what I have mentioned, was consumed in the same manner. The fire, in short, by some means or other, may be said to have destroyed the whole city, at least every thing that was grand or valuable in it.

"With regard to the buildings it was observed that the solidest in general fell the first. Every parish church, convent, nunnery, palace, and public edifice, with an infinite number of private houses, were either thrown down or so miserably shattered, that it was rendered dangerous to pass by them.

"The whole number of persons that perished, including those who were burnt, or afterwards crushed to death whilst digging in the ruins, is supposed, on the lowest calculation, to amount to more than sixty thousand ; and though the damage in other respects cannot be computed, yet you may form some idea of it, when I assure you that this extensive and opulent city is now nothing but a vast heap of ruins ; that the rich and poor are at present upon a level ; some thousand of families which but the day before had been easy in their circumstances, being now scattered about in the fields, wanting every conveniency of life, and finding none able to relieve them.

"A few days after the first consternation was over, I ventured down into the city by the safest ways I could pick out, to see if there was a possibility of getting any thing out of my lodgings, but the ruins were now so augmented by the late fire, that I was so far from being able to distinguish the individual spot where the house stood, that I could not even distinguish the street amidst such mountains of stones and rubbish which rose on every side. Some days after, I ventured down again with several porters, who, having long plied in these parts of the town, were well acquainted with the situation of particular houses; by their assistance I at last discovered the spot; but was soon convinced to dig for any thing here, besides the danger of such an attempt, would never answer the expense, and what further induced me to lay aside all thoughts of the matter was the sight of the ruins still smoking, from whence I knew for certain that those things I set the greatest value on must have been irrecoverably lost in the fire.

"On both the times when I attempted to make this fruitless search, especially the first, there came such an intolerable stench from the dead bodies, that I was ready to faint away, and though it did not seem so great this last time, yet it had like to have been more fatal to me, as I contracted a fever by it, but of which, God be praised, I soon got the better. However, this made me so cautious for the future, that I avoided passing near certain places, where the stench was so excessive that people began to dread an infection. A gentleman told me, that going into the town a few days after the earthquake, he saw several bodies lying in the streets, some horribly mangled, as he supposed, by the dogs; others half burnt; some quite roasted; and that in certain places, particularly near the doors of churches, they lay in vast heaps, piled one upon another. You may guess at the prodigious havoc which must have been made, by the single instance I am going to mention:—There was a high arched passage, like one of our old city gates, fronting the west door of the ancient cathedral; on the left hand was the famous church of St. Antonio, and on the right some private houses, several stories high. The whole area, surrounded by all these buildings, did not much exceed one of our small courts in London. At the first shock, numbers

of people who were then passing under the arch, fled into the middle of this area for shelter ; those in the two churches, as many as could possibly get out, did the same ; at this instant, the arched gate-way, with the two churches and contiguous buildings, all inclining one towards another with the sudden violence of the shock, fell down and buried every soul as they were standing here crowded together.

“ Thus, my dear friend, have I given you a genuine though imperfect account of this terrible judgment, which has left so deep an impression on my mind, that I shall never wear it off : I have lost all the money I had by me, and have saved no other clothes than what I have on my back ; but what I regret most is the irreparable loss of my books and papers. To add to my present distress, those friends to whom I could have applied on any other occasion, are now in the same wretched circumstances with myself. However, notwithstanding all that I have suffered, I do not think I have reason to despair, but rather to return my most grateful acknowledgments to the Almighty, who hath so visibly preserved my life amidst such dangers, where so many thousands perished ; and the same good Providence, I trust, will still continue to protect me, and point out some means to extricate myself out of these difficulties.”

READING LXXXVII.

INDIAN BARBARITY.—THE BLACK HOLE OF CALCUTTA.

1756.

THE ill conduct of Drake, governor of Calcutta, in 1756, who had, among other things, unjustly imprisoned a very considerable merchant of the country, whose name was Omychund, and who was a Gentoo, having drawn the resentment of the viceroy upon the factory, he marched against it in person, with a very considerable force, and laid siege to the fort.

Drake, who had brought on this misfortune, no sooner saw it approach, than he deserted his station, and left the

gentlemen of the factory and the garrison to shift for themselves. As soon as Drake was gone, Mr. Holwell, one of the merchants, took the command upon himself, and resolved to defend the place as long as he was able. This voluntary opposition of Mr. Holwell incensed the viceroy against him; and, supposing that he would not have undertaken a work of supererogation attended with such fatigue and danger upon disinterested principles, he made no doubt but that there were very great treasures in the fort, in which he was deeply concerned as a proprietor; he therefore pushed on the siege with great vigour.

The following account of the whole transaction is given by Mr. Holwell himself in the following words:—

“The suba, or viceroy of Bengal, and his troops, were in possession of the fort before six in the evening. At a third interview with him, before seven, he repeated his assurances to me, on the word of a soldier, that no harm should come to us: and, indeed, I believe his orders were only general that we should for that night be secured; and that what followed was the result of revenge and resentment in the breasts of the lower jemautdaars, or sergeants (to whose custody we were delivered) for the number of their order killed during the siege. Be this as it may, as soon as it was dark, we were all, without distinction, directed by the guard set over us to collect ourselves into one body, and sit down quietly under the arched Veranda, or Piazza, to the west of the Black-hole prison, and the barracks to the left of the court of guard. Just as it was dark, about four hundred or five hundred men, who were drawn up upon the parade, advanced, and ordered us all to rise and go into the barracks. We were no sooner all within them, than the guard advanced to the inner arches and parapet-wall; and, with their muskets presented, ordered us to go into the room at the southernmost end of the barrack, commonly called the Black-hole prison. Few amongst us, the soldiers excepted, had the least idea of the dimensions or nature of a place we had never seen; for if we had, we should, at all events, have rushed upon the guard, and been, as the lesser evil, by our own choice, cut to pieces.

“Amongst the first that entered were myself, messieurs

Baillie, Jenks, Cooke, T. Coles, ensign Scott, Revely, Law, Buchanan, &c. I got possession of the window nearest the door, and messieurs Coles and Scott into the window with me, they being both wounded (the first, I believe, mortally). The rest of the above-mentioned gentlemen were close round about me. It was now about eight o'clock.

"Figure to yourself, my friend, if possible, the situation of a hundred and forty-six wretches, exhausted by continual fatigue and action, crammed together in a cube of eighteen feet, in a close sultry night, in Bengal, shut up to the eastward and southward (the only quarters from which air could reach us) by dead walls, and by a wall and door to the north, open only to the westward by two windows, strongly barred with iron, from which we could receive scarce any the least circulation of fresh air.

"What must ensue appeared to me in lively and dreadful colours, the instant I cast my eyes round and saw the size and situation of the room. Many unsuccessful attempts were made to force the door ; for, having nothing but our hands to work with, and the door opening inward, all endeavours were vain and fruitless.

"Amongst the guards posted at the windows, I observed an old jemnautdaar near me, who seemed to carry some compassion for us in his countenance. I called him to me, and pressed him to endeavour to get us separated, half in one place, and half in another, and that he should in the morning receive a thousand rupees for this act of tenderness. He withdrew ; but in a few minutes returned, and told me it was impossible. I then thought I had been deficient in my offer, and promised him two thousand : he withdrew a second time, but returned soon, and (with, I believe, much real pity and concern) told me, that it could not be done but by the suba's order, and that no one dared awake him.

"We had been but few minutes confined before every one fell into a perspiration so profuse, you can form no idea of it. This brought on a raging thirst, which increased in proportion as the body was drained of its moisture.

"Various expedients were thought of to give more room and air. To obtain the former, it was moved to put off their clothes : this was approved as a happy motion,

and in a few minutes, I believe every man was stripped (myself, Mr. Court, and the two young gentlemen by me excepted). For a little time they flattered themselves with having gained a mighty advantage ; every hat was put in motion to produce a circulation of air, and Mr. Baillie proposed that every man should sit down on his hams. This expedient was several times put in practice, and at each time many of the poor creatures, whose natural strength was less than that of others, or who had been more exhausted and could not immediately recover their legs, as others did when the word was given to rise, fell to rise no more ; for they were instantly trod to death or suffocated. When the whole body sat down, they wore so closely wedged together, that they were obliged to use many efforts before they could put themselves in motion to get up again.

"Before nine o'clock, every man's thirst grew intolerable, and respiration difficult. Efforts were made again to force the door, but in vain. Many insults were used to the guard to provoke them to fire in upon us. For my own part, I hitherto felt little pain or uneasiness, but what resulted from my anxiety for the sufferings of those within. By keeping my face between two of the bars, I obtained air enough to give my lungs easy play, though my perspiration was excessive, and thirst commencing.

"Now everybody, excepting those situated in and near the windows, began to grow outrageous, and many delirious : *Water, water*, became the general cry. And the old jemmautdaar before mentioned, taking pity on us, ordered the people to bring some skins of water. This was what I dreaded. I foresaw it would prove the ruin of the small chance left us, and essayed many times to speak to him privately to forbid its being brought ; but the clamour was so loud, it became impossible. The water appeared. Words cannot paint to you the universal agitation and raving the sight of it threw us into. I flattered myself that some, by preserving an equal temper of mind, might out-live the night ; but now the reflection which gave me the greatest pain was, that I saw no possibility of one escaping to tell the dismal tale.

Until the water came, I had myself not suffered much from thirst, which instantly grew excessive. We had no

means of conveying it into the prison, but by hats forced through the bars ; and thus myself and messieurs Coles and Scott (notwithstanding the pains they suffered from their wounds) supplied them as fast as possible. But those who have experienced intense thirst, or are acquainted with the cause and nature of this appetite, will be sufficiently sensible it could receive no more than a momentary alleviation ; the cause still subsisted. Though we brought full hats within the bars, there ensued such violent struggles and frequent contests to get at it, that before it reached the lips of any one, there would be scarcely a small teacup full left in them. These supplies, like sprinkling water on fire, only served to feed and raise the flame.

“ From about nine to near eleven, I sustained this cruel scene and painful situation, still supplying them with water, though my legs were almost broke with the weight against them. By this time, I myself was near pressed to death, and my two companions, with Mr. William Parker (who had forced himself into the window) were really so.

“ For a great while they preserved a respect and regard to me, more than indeed I could well expect, our circumstances considered ; but now all distinction was lost. My friend Baillie, messieurs Jenks, Revely, Law, Buchanan, Simpson, and several others, for whom I had a real esteem and affection, had for some time been dead at my feet ; and were now trampled upon by every corporal or common soldier, who, by the help of more robust constitutions, had forced their way to the window, and held fast by the bars over me, till at last, I became so pressed and wedged up, I was deprived of all motion.

“ Determined now to give everything up, I called to them, and begged, as the last instance of their regard, they would remove the pressure upon me, and permit me to retire out of the window, to die in quiet. They gave way ; and with much difficulty I forced a passage into the centre of the prison, where the throng was less by the many dead, (then I believe amounting to one-third,) and the numbers who flocked to the windows ; for by this time they had water also at the other window.

“ In the black-hole there is a platform corresponding with that in the barrack : I travelled over the dead, and

repaired to the further end of it, just opposite to the other window. Here my poor friend, Mr. Edward Eyre, came staggering over the dead to me, and with his usual coolness and good nature, asked me how I did ? but fell and expired before I had time to make him a reply. I laid myself down on some of the dead behind me, on the platform, and recommending myself to heaven, had the comfort of thinking my sufferings could have no long duration.

“ My thirst grew now insupportable, and the difficulty of breathing much increased ; and I had not remained in this situation, I believe, ten minutes, when I was seized with a pain in my breast, and palpitation of heart, both to the most exquisite degree. These roused and obliged me to get up again ; but still the pain, palpitation, thirst, and difficulty of breathing, increased. I retained my senses notwithstanding ; and had the grief to see death not so near me as I hoped ; but could no longer bear the pains I suffered without attempting a relief, which I knew fresh air would and could only give me. I instantly determined to push for the window opposite to me ; and by an effort of double the strength I had ever before possessed, gained the third rank at it, with one hand seized a bar, and by that means gained the second, though I think there were at least six or seven ranks between me and the window.

“ In a few moments, the pain, palpitation, and difficulty of breathing ceased ; but my thirst continued intolerable. I called aloud for *Water, for God's sake*. I had been concluded dead ; but as soon as they found me amongst them, they still showed respect and tenderness for me, crying out, *Give him water, give him water !* Nor would one of them at the window attempt to touch it until I had drunk.

“ But from the water I had no relief ; my thirst was rather increased by it ; so I determined to drink no more, but patiently wait the event, and kept my mouth moist from time to time by sucking the perspiration out of my shirt-sleeves, and catching the drops as they fell, like heavy rain, from my head and face ; you can hardly imagine how unhappy I was if any of them escaped my mouth.

“ I came into the prison without coat or waistcoat ; the season was too hot to bear the former, and the latter tempted the avarice of one of the guards, who robbed

me of it when we were under the veranda. Whilst I was at this second window, I was observed by one of my miserable companions on the right of me, in the expedient of allaying my thirst by sucking my shirt-sleeve. He took the hint, and robbed me from time to time of a considerable part of my store; though, after I detected him, I had even the address to begin on that sleeve first, when I thought my reservoirs were sufficiently replenished; and our mouths and noses often met in the contest. This plunderer I found afterwards was a worthy young gentleman in the service, Mr. Lushington, one of the few who escaped from death. He has since paid me the compliment of assuring me, that he believed he owed his life to the comfortable draughts he had from my sleeves.

“By half-an-hour past eleven, the much greater number of those living were in an outrageous delirium, and the others quite ungovernable; few retaining any calmness but the ranks next the windows. They all now found that water, instead of relieving, rather heightened their uneasiness; and, *Air, air*, was the general cry. Every insult that could be devised against the guard, all the opprobrious names that the suba, monickchund, &c. (*military officers*), could be loaded with, were repeated, to provoke the guard to fire upon us; every man that could, rushing towards the windows, with eager hopes of meeting the first shot. Then a general prayer to heaven, to hasten the approach of the flames to the right and left of us, and put a period to our misery. But these failing, they whose strength and spirits were quite exhausted, laid themselves down and expired quietly upon their fellows: others, who had yet some strength and vigour left, made a last effort for the windows, and several succeeded, by leaping and scrambling over the backs and heads of those in the first ranks, and got hold of the bars, from which there was no removing them. Many to the right and left sunk with the violent pressure, and were soon suffocated; for now a steam arose from the living and the dead, which affected us in all its circumstances as if we were forcibly held by our heads over a bowl of strong volatile spirit of hartshorn, until suffocated; nor could the effluvia of the one be distinguished from the other; and frequently, when I was forced, by the load upon my head and shoulders, to hold my face down, I

was obliged, near as I was to the window, instantly to raise it again, to escape suffocation.

"I need not, my dear friend, ask your commiseration, when I tell you, that in this plight, from half-an-hour after eleven till near two in the morning, I sustained the weight of a heavy man, with his knees on my back, and the pressure of his whole body on my head; a Dutch sergeant, who had taken his seat upon my left shoulder, and a black soldier bearing on my right; all which, nothing could have enabled me long to support, but the props and pressure equally sustaining me all around. The two latter I frequently dislodged, by shifting my hold on the bars, and driving my knuckles into their ribs; but my friend above stuck fast, and as he held by two bars, was immovable.

"The repeated trials and efforts I made to dislodge this insufferable incumbrance upon me, at last quite exhausted me, and towards two o'clock, finding I must quit the window, or sink where I was, I resolved on the former, having borne, truly for the sake of others, infinitely more for life, than the best of it is worth.

"In the rank close behind me was an officer of one of the ships; whose name was Carey, and who behaved with much bravery during the siege, (his wife, a fine woman, though country born, would not quit him, but accompanied him into the prison, and was one who survived). This poor wretch had been long raving for water and air; I told him I was determined to give up life, and recommended his gaining my station. On my quitting, he made an attempt to get my place; but was supplanted.

"Poor Carey expressed his thankfulness, and said, he would give up life too; but it was with the utmost labour we forced our way from the window (several in the inner ranks appearing to me dead, standing). He laid himself down to die: and his death, I believe, was very sudden; for he was a short, full, sanguine man: his strength was great, and I imagine had he not retired with me, I should never have been able to have forced my way.

"I was at this time sensible of no pain, and little uneasiness. I found a stupor (*insensibility*) coming on apace, and laid myself down by that gallant old man, the reverend Mr. Jervas Bellamy, who lay dead with his son, the lieutenant, hand in hand, near the southernmost wall of the prison.

"When I had lain there some little time, I still had reflection enough to suffer some uneasiness in the thought that I should be trampled upon, when dead, as I myself had done to others. With some difficulty I raised myself and gained the platform a second time, where I presently lost all sensation : the last trace of sensibility that I have been able to recollect after my lying down, was, my sash being uneasy about my waist, which I untied and threw from me. Of what passed in this interval to the time of my resurrection from this hole of horrors, I can give you no account.

"When the day broke, and the gentlemen found that no entreaties could prevail to get the door opened, it occurred to one of them (I think to Mr. Secretary Cooke) to make a search for me, in hopes I might have influence enough to gain a release from this scene of misery. Accordingly Messrs. Lushington and Walcot undertook the search, and by my shirt discovered me under the dead upon the platform. They took me from thence, and imagining I had some signs of life, brought me towards the window I had first possession of.

"But as life was equally dear to every man (and the stench arising from the dead bodies was grown so intolerable) no one would give up his station in or near the window ; so they were obliged to carry me back again. But soon after, captain Mills (now captain of the company's yacht), who was in possession of a seat in the window, had the humanity to offer to resign it. I was again brought by the same gentlemen and placed in the window.

"At this juncture the suba, who had received an account of the havoc death had made amongst us, sent one of his *jemmautdaars* (*sergeants*) to inquire if the chief survived. They showed me to him ; said I had appearance of life remaining ; and believed I might recover, if the door was opened very soon. This answer being returned to the suba, an order came immediately for our release, it being then near six in the morning.

"As the door opened inwards, and as the dead were piled up against it, and covered all the best of the floor, it was impossible to open it by any efforts from without ; it was therefore necessary that the dead should be removed by the few that were within, who were become so feeble,

that the task, though it was the condition of life, was not performed without the utmost difficulty, and it was twenty minutes after the order came, before the door could be opened.

"About a quarter after six in the morning, the poor remains of one hundred and forty-six souls, being no more than three-and-twenty, came out of the black-hole alive, but in a condition which made it very doubtful whether they would see the morning of the next day ; among the living was Mrs. Carey, but poor Leech was among the dead. The bodies were dragged out of the hole by the soldiers, and thrown promiscuously into the ditch of an unfinished ravelin (*fort*), which was afterwards filled with earth."

READING LXXXVIII.

NORTH AMERICAN SAVAGES.

1758.

THE active part which the North American savages took in the Canadian war between this country and France, necessarily imparts a high degree of interest to any account which makes us acquainted with their manners, habits, &c., and with this view we shall present our reader with the following narrative of the dangers, sufferings, and deliverances of Robert Eastburn, and his captivity among the Indians in North America :—

Robert Eastburn, with about thirty other traders, set out from Philadelphia for Oswego, early in the spring of the year 1756, and on the 28th of March arrived at captain Williams's fort, where they proposed to take up their lodgings for that night ; but captain Williams informing them that there was not convenient room for them, they passed the night in a building called the Indian house, at a small distance from the fort.

At ten o'clock in the morning of the next day, Eastburn, being still at the Indian house where he had lodged, was alarmed by a negro man, who came running down the road, crying out that several of the English had been taken by the enemy, who were coming forward, Eastburn,

not thinking himself safe at the Indian house, joined a small detachment, consisting of a sergeant and twelve men, whom captain Williams had despatched to see if the report of the negro was true, and having marched with them about a quarter of a mile, he heard the report of a musket, which was instantly followed by the cries of a dying man. As soon as his first surprise was over, he advanced to discover the enemy, and soon perceived they were too well prepared for the reception of his party. In these circumstances of imminent danger, he placed himself behind a large pine tree, which he saw at a small distance, and while the enemy were viewing his party, he discharged his piece among them, by which he wounded one and killed another ; at the same time his party fired, but finding it impossible to make a stand against such a superiority of numbers, they retreated as soon as they had made their fire, and Eastburn's situation behind the tree being such as made it impossible for him to join them, he was compelled to retreat a different way.

Some of the Indians, seeing him go off, followed his track in a light snow, but it is probable he might yet have escaped, if he had not unfortunately fallen into a deep bog, where he was soon discovered and surrounded.

He was taken out and dragged back to the main body, where he was instantly stripped of all his clothes, except a flannel waistcoat without sleeves ; a rope was then put round his neck, his arms were pinioned behind him, a band was fastened round his body, and a heavy load placed on his back ; in this condition one of the savages struck him a severe blow on his head, and then drove him through the woods before them.

He was soon after joined by eighteen unhappy wretches, who had likewise been made prisoners by this party, which consisted of about one hundred men ; they did not pursue their route towards captain Williams's fort, because Eastburn, being asked by them concerning its strength, gave them such an answer as discouraged them from attempting it. They determined, however, to destroy another fort, called Bull's Fort, situated at the head of Wood's Creek, which they soon effected, and, except five persons, put every soul they found in it to the sword.

After this exploit they retired to the woods, and joined

their main body, which consisted of four hundred French and five hundred Indians, commanded by one of the principal gentlemen of Quebec; as soon as they got together they threw themselves on their knees, and returned thanks to God for their victory, an example, says Eastburn, well worthy of imitation.

They continued their march through the woods about four miles, and then, it being dark, and several of the Indians being drunk, they encamped.

The Indians, according to their custom, soon made a fire, and strewed round it some branches of green hemlock to sit upon; they then went up to Eastburn, and untied his arms, after which they tied the two ends of a string that was fastened to the band which went round his middle to two trees; two of them then sat down on the green boughs, one on each side of him, with the string that was fastened to his band under them, to prevent his escape, and having covered him with an old blanket they went to sleep.

They encamped and rested much in the same manner the night following; and the next morning, Sunday, the 28th, they rose very early and retreated hastily towards Canada, for fear of general Johnson, who, as they were informed, was on his march against them.

Eastburn having on this occasion been sent for by the commanding officer, and asked many questions, the officer at length discovered that he was a smith, a circumstance which probably induced his enemies to spare his life, in hopes that he might be useful to them, and he was advised to settle at Canada and send for his wife, with promises of great advantages, which, however, he refused. In his march he suffered incredible fatigue and hardship, travelling almost naked through deep snow, and being frequently obliged to wade through rivers, the water of which wanted but little of being as cold as ice. Under these severities he fell sick, and had the mortification to see one of his friends, who was in the same circumstances, killed and scalped by the Indians, because he was no longer able to keep pace with them: to him, however, they were more merciful, for perceiving that he could not swallow their coarse food, they boiled him some chocolate, and seemed pleased when they perceived that he ate it.

But there were other circumstances besides cold, and nakedness, and sickness, and fatigue, which made this march still more dreadful to poor Eastburn. He was appointed to march behind an Indian, who had a large bunch of recent scalps (*the skin of the head*) hanging at his back, which was increased as often as some straggling wretch was overtaken. This object being perpetually before his eyes, while his ears were frequently wounded with the infernal yell which they called the dead shout, and which they never fail to utter when a victim falls into their hands, filled him at once with grief and horror, and aggravated the sufferings of his body by such anguish of mind as those only can conceive who have felt.

After a march of seven days, they arrived at Lake Ontario, where they were met by some French batteaux with a large supply of provisions, of which they had been in so much want, that they had subsisted during some part of their march upon horse-flesh, and had even devoured a porcupine without any other dressing than sufficed just to scorch off the hair and quills.

Eastburn, after a tedious voyage with part of this company, arrived at Oswegotchy, an Indian town, where he hoped to continue till warm weather, but, to his inexpressible disappointment, he was ordered the next day to proceed two hundred miles farther down the stream.

To aggravate this misfortune, he was appointed to go in a batteau with eight Indians, one of whom was the very man he had wounded, when he fired from behind the pine the day he was taken. He contrived to escape the notice of this man by wrapping himself up in the old blanket that had been given him to sleep under while they were in the boat, but when they went on shore he was discovered. The Indian cast his eyes upon him with a kind of malignant joy, and immediately taking away his blanket, ordered him to dance round the fire barefoot, and sing the prisoner's song. With this order Eastburn absolutely refused to comply, because, as he says, he thought the compliance sinful; this so enraged the Indian, that he endeavoured many times to push him alive into the fire, which he avoided by jumping over it; and his enemy being weak with his wound, and not being seconded by his associates, at length desisted from his

attempts ; and after a painful journey, sometimes on the water, and sometimes on the snow, they came at length to the upper part of Canada. Here it was Eastburn's hard fortune to be quartered at a Frenchman's house, where his old enemy, the wounded Indian, again appeared, and related to the Frenchman the circumstance of his refusing to dance and sing. Upon this the good Frenchman assisted his friend the Indian to strip poor Eastburn of his flannel vest without sleeves, the only garment that was then left him. It was then insisted both by the Frenchman and Indian that he should absolutely dance and sing, and upon his refusal they used him with great cruelty, and would probably have murdered him, if he had not been rescued from his persecutors by the compassion of some women, who had been witnesses of his ill-treatment.

On the 11th of April they came within sight of the town of Conasadunga, where they were soon surrounded by a large company of Indians, who ordered all the prisoners to dance and sing ; many complied, but Eastburn still refused ; he could not however avoid a very disagreeable ceremony, which was performed immediately after the dance and song were ended.

The dancing and singing were as usual performed in the middle of a large circle of Indians, at a considerable distance from an Indian house, the door of which was set open ; as soon as the song was ended, the circle opened, and the prisoners were to run the gauntlet to this house ; while they were running, the Indians continued a most vociferous shout, and beat them so violently upon the head that many dropped down, but when they had entered the house they were to be beaten no more. Eastburn received several blows in this diabolical race, which he felt long afterwards, but he was, notwithstanding, one of the first that entered the asylum : he was treated with great kindness by the women, who gave him and his companions boiled corn and beans, and warmed them at a good fire, though still he was without clothes.

After he had continued ten days at this place, he was sent by water with a small party of Indians to another town called Cohnewago, and obliged to leave all his companions behind him. When the party that escorted him came near the town, they shouted to give notice that they

had a prisoner, upon which the whole town came out to meet him ; as the batteau in which he was sitting came near the shore, a young Indian rudely hauled him out of it into the water, which was knee-deep, and very cold. As soon as he had got on shore he was surrounded by a ring of Indians to the number of five hundred, who ordered him again to perform the ceremony of the song and dance, which was to be followed by the same race which he had run at his former lodging ; he did not, he says, indulge this party by dancing any more than the others, but he acknowledged that he *stamped*, which, as he says, was to prepare him for his race, and after some time the Indians, either mistaking this stamping for dancing, or dispensing with their command, made way for him to run. When he set off, about one hundred and fifty boys, who had been prepared for that purpose, pelted him with stones and dirt ; but he would not have received much damage from this volley, if an Indian, grudging him his good fortune, had not stopped him as he was running, and held him till the boys had armed themselves with more dirt and stones ; by this second volley he was wounded in the right eye, and his head and face were so covered with dirt that he could not see his way ; he was, however, again delivered by some women, who took pity on him, washed his wounds, and gave him food.

The next day he was brought to the centre of the town, and there delivered to three young Indians to be adopted, and sent two hundred miles farther up the stream, to a town called Naswegotchy.

These young men, as soon as they had received him, told him he was their brother, and set out with him for the place of their destination.

When he arrived at Naswegotchy he was adopted by an old Indian and his wife, who, because he refused to go to mass, employed him in hard labour, and treated him with great unkindness. As he considered himself to be suffering for conscience sake, he submitted without murmuring, and fulfilled his task, however severe, with such diligence and assiduity, that the resentment of his new parents subsided, and they treated him like their son.

After he had continued some time in this situation, he saw at Montreal some Indians who were in friendship with the English, and had come thither with a com-

plaint to the governor, and he found means by some of these Indians to send a letter to his friends, informing them where he was, and in what situation.

It happened, however, that having been soon after detected in a project to escape, he was removed from this place to Cohnewago, under a strong guard; but at Cohnewago he was in a better situation than before, for he worked at his trade with a French smith, who paid him six livres and five sous per week, and he also obtained leave of the captain of the guard to walk where he would.

After having worked some time at this place, he obtained leave to go to Montreal, where he hoped to get yet higher wages; and soon after his arrival there, he entered into partnership with an English smith, and continued with him till he heard that the French had made themselves masters of Oswego, and soon after saw the British standards and prisoners brought into the town.

Eastburn looked upon these trophies of his enemies with a heavy heart; and as he was musing on the misfortunes of himself and his countrymen, he discovered among the prisoners his own son, a lad about seventeen years of age; the son at the same time fixed his eyes on his father, and the emotions of both were such as can be better conceived than described, especially as it was impossible for them at that time to come near enough to speak to each other, and as they were uncertain whether they should ever meet again.

Eastburn, however, soon after had the good fortune to obtain his son's liberty. The officers belonging to Oswego would fain have had them both with them, for they were to be sent to Philadelphia: but this was not permitted to the father, because he was an Indian prisoner, and the son refused to be released without him. From these gentlemen, however, he received many acts of kindness, some giving him money, and others clothes, which were yet more welcome.

Eastburn having continued with his son among the French, and the French Indians, till the 22d of July, 1757, was then released on a cartel (*agreement for exchange of prisoners*), and arrived at Philadelphia on the 26th of November following.

READING LXXXIX.

TAKING OF QUEBEC.—DEATH OF GENERAL WOLFE.

1759.

THE year 1759 is memorable for the celebrated expedition undertaken against the city of Quebec, at that time in possession of the French, the conduct of which enterprise was entrusted to general Wolfe.

Upon that excellent officer's arrival at the isle of Orleans, a few miles distant from Quebec, he immediately proceeded to reconnoitre the position of the enemy, and when he saw the situation of the town, the nature of the country, the number of the troops, and their position, though of a sanguine temper and highly adventurous, he began to despair; but, however another commander might have thought inaction in such circumstances justified to himself, or even to the world, by such strong appearances, Wolfe resolved to leave nothing unattempted, but amidst the choice of difficulties which lay before him, to pitch upon those where the valour of his troops might be employed with the best prospect of success.

As soon as he had secured the west point of the isle of Orleans, and that of Levi, he erected batteries there of cannon and mortars, on the high ground, from the point of Levi, which looks towards the town; these fired continually upon the place. Admiral Saunders was stationed below in the north channel of the isle of Orleans, opposite to Montmorenci; admiral Holmes was stationed above the town, at once to distract the enemy's attention, and to prevent any attempts from the enemy against the batteries that played upon the town.

After this wise disposition was made of the fleet, general Wolfe caused the troops to be transported over the north channel of the river St. Lawrence, to the north-east of Montmorenci, with a view of passing that river, and bringing the enemy to an engagement. Some heights which commanded the enemy's intrenchments, and a ford above, and another below the falls, encouraged him to this attempt: but, upon reconnoitring the ground, the opposite shore was found so steep and woody, that he

could not hope to put his design into execution, which was, by moving towards the enemy's flank, to draw them to an engagement. To bring the French to an action was his single object. He had found that any attempts to assault the city would prove to no purpose, whilst the fleet could only batter the lower town, and must suffer greatly by the cannon and bombs of the upper, whilst they were employed in this ineffectual service ; for after the reduction of the lower town, the passages to the upper were extremely steep, and moreover so well intrenched, that this advantage would prove little towards the reduction of the place. The only point left, therefore, was by every means to entice or force the enemy to an engagement ; and to this end no means were omitted by sending detachments up the river, and by every appearance of a design to attack the town on that side. But the marquis de Montcalm, in choosing his post, was well apprised of its importance. He knew sufficiently the nature of the country up the river, and he trusted to it ; and therefore kept himself closely in his post, disposing his parties of savages, in which he was very strong, in such a manner, as to make any attempt upon him by surprise absolutely impossible. In the meantime, from the town fireships and boats were let down the stream to destroy the shipping, which, as they almost wholly filled the channel, were greatly endangered. But by the extraordinary skill and vigilance of admiral Saunders, every vessel of this kind sent against them was towed ashore without doing the least mischief.

The general finding that all his efforts to decoy the enemy to an engagement had proved unsuccessful, and sensible that they desired nothing more than to act defensively, until the season itself should fight for them, and oblige the English to retire, he came at last, in spite of all difficulties, to the resolution of attacking them in their intrenchments on the side of Montmorenci. The place where the attack was to be made was chosen with great judgment, as the only place thereabouts in which the artillery could be brought into use ; as there, and there only, the greatest part, or even the whole of the troops, might act at once, and that there the retreat, in case of a repulse, was secure, at least for a certain time of the tide. Having determined upon the place where the

attack was to be, which was at the mouth of the river Montmorenci, the best dispositions for it were made, both on the part of the admiral and of the general. But notwithstanding that the whole was conducted with equal vigour and prudence, it was totally defeated by one of those accidents which so frequently interpose to the disgrace of human wisdom, and which demonstrate that she is far from being the sole arbitress of war.

The English grenadiers, who led the attack, had orders immediately after their landing, to form themselves on the beach; but instead of forming themselves as they were directed, from the hurry and noise of their landing, or from an ill-governed ardour, they rushed impetuously towards the enemy's intrenchments in the utmost disorder and confusion, without waiting for the corps which were to sustain them, and join in the attack. In this disorder, they were met by a violent and steady fire from the intrenchments, by which they were thrown into more confusion, which obliged them to shelter themselves behind a redoubt, which the French had abandoned on their approach.

The general perceiving that it was impossible for these grenadiers to form under so severe a fire, that the night drew on, a violent tempest was gathering, and the tide began to flow, saw clearly that he had nothing further left than to order a retreat, with as little disadvantage as possible. He therefore called off those troops, and having formed them behind brigadier Monkton's corps, which was on the beach, in excellent order, the whole repassed the river without molestation, the general exposing his person with that intrepidity which distinguished him both during the attack and the retreat.

The loss in this check was not inconsiderable; and the event on the whole was such as to discourage any further attempts upon that side. They returned to the old measures. The general again sent some bodies above the town, and some men of war sailed up the stream for more than twelve leagues. They received intelligence that the enemy had amassed some magazines of provisions in the interior country, and they proposed, by getting between them and the town, to draw the French army from their intrenchments, to the long-desired engagement; but if they failed to compass this, they might, at

least, destroy the ships of war which the enemy had in the river, and help to open a communication between them and general Amherst, on whom their last expectations were fixed, and who, they flattered themselves, was on his march to their assistance.

But though they succeeded in destroying some of the enemy's magazines, there was nothing of great moment in this. They could not come near the men of war. However, they received intelligence from some prisoners, of the success of sir William Johnson against Niagara; they learned likewise that the French had smoothed the difficulties in the way of general Amherst, by abandoning Crown Point and Ticonderoga. But this intelligence, otherwise so pleasing, brought them no prospect of the approach of any assistance from that quarter. The season wasted apace. The general fell violently ill, consumed by care, watching, and a fatigue too great to be supported by a delicate constitution, and a body unequal to that vigorous and enterprising soul that it lodged. It was not enough for him to escape from so great an expedition uncondemned and unapplauded; to be pitied was, he thought, but a milder censure; and he knew that no military conduct can shine, unless it be gilded with success. His own high notions, the public hope, the good success of other commanders, all turned inward upon him, oppressed his spirits, and converted disappointment into disease. As soon as he had a little recovered, he despatched an express with an account of his proceedings to England, written indeed in the style of despondency (*despair*), but with such perspicuity, clearness, and elegance, as would have ranked him among our best writers, if his military exploits had not placed him among our greatest commanders.

He resolved, when he sent away his account, to continue the campaign to the last possible moment; and after a deliberation with his officers, determined that any further attempts at Montmorenci were to little purpose, and that their principal operations should be above the town, in order, if possible, to draw the enemy to an action. But the design of Wolfe was deeper and more particularly directed than it had been before. The camp at Montmorenci was broken up, and the troops were conveyed to the south-east of the river, and encamped at

Point Levi. The squadron under admiral Holmes made movements up the river for several days successively, in order to draw the enemy's attention as far from the town as possible. This succeeded in some measure; for, though it could not persuade the marquis de Montcalm to quit his post, it induced him to detach M. de Bougainville with 1,500 men to watch their motions, and to proceed along the western shore of the river, whilst the English army directed its march the same way on the eastern bank.

When general Wolfe saw that matters were ripe for action, he ordered the ships under admiral Saunders to make a feint, as if they proposed to attack the French in their intrenchments on the Beauport shore, below the town, and by their motions to give this feint all the appearance of a reality which it possibly could have. This disposition being made below the town, the general embarked his forces about one in the morning, and with admiral Holmes's division went three leagues further up the river than the intended place of his landing, in order to amuse the enemy, and conceal his real design. Then he put them into boats, and fell down silently with the tide, unobserved by the French sentinels posted along the shore. The rapidity of the current carried these boats a little below the intended place of attack. The ships followed them, and arrived just at the time which had been concerted to cover their landing. Considering the darkness of the night, and the rapidity of the current, this was a very critical operation, and it required excellent heads, both on the part of the marine and the land service, to preserve a communication, and to prevent a discovery and confusion.

As the troops could not land at the spot proposed, when they were put on shore, a hill appeared before them extremely high and steep in its ascent; a little path winded up this ascent, so narrow that two could not go abreast. Even this path was intrenched, and a captain's guard defended it. These difficulties did not abate the hopes of the general, or the ardour of the troops. The light infantry, under colonel Howe, laying hold of stumps and boughs of trees, pulled themselves up, dislodged the guards, and cleared the path; and then all the troops, surmounting every difficulty, gained the top of the hill,

and, as fast as they ascended, formed themselves, so that they were all in order of battle at day-break.

Montcalm, when he heard that the English had ascended the hill, and were formed on the high ground at the back of the town, scarcely credited the intelligence, and still believed it to be a feint to induce him to abandon that strong post which had been the object of all the real attempts that had been made since the beginning of the campaign. But he was soon, and fatally for him, undeceived. He saw clearly that the English fleet and army were in such a situation, that the upper and lower town might be attacked in concert, and that nothing but a battle could possibly save it. Accordingly, he determined to give them battle, and, quitting Beauport, passed the river St. Charles, and formed his troops opposite to ours.

He filled the bushes that were in his front with detachments of Indians and his best marksmen, to the number of about 1,500; his regular forces formed his left; his right was composed of the troops of the colony, supported by two battalions of regulars. The rest of the Indians and Canadians extended on that side, and attempted to outflank the left of the English, which was formed to prevent that design, in a manner which the military men called *potence*; that is, in a body which presents two faces to the enemy. Here brigadier-general Townshend commanded six regiments, and the Louisbourg grenadiers were disposed in a line to the right of this body, extending to the river. A regiment was drawn up behind the right, for a reserve. It was formed in eight subdivisions with large intervals. The light infantry under colonel Howe protected the rear and the left. The dispositions on both sides were judicious, and the engagement on both sides began with spirit.

The English troops were exhorted to reserve their fire, and they bore that of the enemy's light troops in front, which was galling, though irregular, with the utmost patience and good order, waiting for the main body of the enemy, which advanced fast upon them. At forty yards distance our troops gave their fire, which took place in its full extent, and made a terrible havoc among the French. It was supported with as much vivacity as it was begun, and the enemy everywhere yielded to it;

but just in the moment when the fortune of the field began to declare itself, general Wolfe, in whose life every thing seemed included, fell : general Monkton, the next to him in command, fell immediately after, and both were conveyed out of the line : the command now devolved on general Townshend. It was at a very critical time ; for, though the enemy began to fall back, and were much broken, the loss of the two generals was a very discouraging circumstance, and it required great temper and great exertions to support the advantages that had been gained, and to push them to their proper extent. General Townshend showed himself equal to so arduous a duty ; the troops preserved their spirit, and each corps seemed to exert itself with a view to its peculiar character. The grenadiers with their bayonets, the Highlanders with their broadswords, and the rest of the forces with a steady and continued fire, drove the enemy in great disorder from every post, and completed their defeat. During the whole action, colonel Howe with his light infantry covered the left wing in such a manner as entirely to frustrate the attempts of the enemy's Indians and Canadians upon that flank.

The field now seemed to be completely decided, when a new enemy appeared, which threatened to bring on a fresh engagement, and to put all again to the hazard. M. de Bougainville, whom the feigned movements of the English troops had drawn up the river, turned back on discovering their real design, and now appeared on the rear of the army with a body of two thousand men. But fortunately the main body of the French was by this time so broken and dispersed, that the general was able to establish his rear, and to turn such an opposition on that side, that the enemy retired after a very feeble attempt.

In this decisive action our troops lost about five hundred men ; on the side of the enemy at least fifteen hundred were killed. But however glorious this victory was, and however important in its consequences, it must be admitted that it was very dearly bought. Soldiers may be raised, officers will be formed by experience, but the loss of a genius in war is a loss which we know not how to repair. The death of Wolfe was indeed grievous to his country, but to himself the most happy that can be imagined, and the most to be envied by all those who

have a true relish for military glory. Unindebted to family or connexions, unsupported by intrigue or faction, he had accomplished the whole business of life at a time when others are only beginning to appear ; and at the age of thirty-five, without feeling the weakness of age or the vicissitude of fortune, having satisfied his honest ambition, having completed his character, having fulfilled the expectations of his country, he fell at the head of his conquering troops, and expired in the arms of victory.

The circumstances that attended the death of such a person, are too interesting to be passed over in silence, and they were indeed such as spoke the whole tenor of his life. He first received a wound in the head ; but, that he might not discourage his troops, he wrapped it up in his handkerchief, and encouraged his men to advance ; soon after, he received another ball in his belly ; this also he dissembled, and exerted himself as before, when he received a third in his breast, under which he at last sunk, and suffered himself, unwillingly, to be carried behind the ranks. As he lay struggling with the anguish and weakness of three grievous wounds, he seemed only solicitous about the fortune of the battle. He begged one who attended him to support him to view the field ; but as he found that the approach of death had dimmed and confused his sight, he desired an officer who was near him to give him an account of what he saw. The officer answered that the enemy seemed broken ; he repeated his question a few minutes after with much anxiety, when he was told that the enemy was totally routed, and that they fled in all parts. " Then," said he, " I am satisfied ;" and immediately expired. The surrender of Quebec to the British arms was the result of this victory.

READING XC.

FRENCH INVASION.—SIR EDWARD HAWKE'S GLORIOUS VICTORY.

1759.

THE court of Versailles, in order to embarrass the British ministry, and divert their attention from all external expeditions, had, in the winter, projected a plan for invading some part of the British dominions : and in the beginning of this year had actually begun to make preparations on different parts of their coast for carrying this design into execution. A considerable fleet had been prepared in the harbours of Rochefort, Brest, and Port-Louis, to be commanded by M. de Conflans, and to have on board a considerable body of troops, which were actually assembled under the duc d'Aguillon, at Vannes, in lower Bretagne. Flat-bottomed boats and transports to be used in this expedition were prepared in different parts on the coast of France ; and a small squadron was equipped at Dunkirk, under the command of an enterprising adventurer, called Thuriot, who had in the course of the preceding year signalized his courage and conduct in a large privateer called the Belleisle, which had scoured (*roved through*) the North Seas, taken a number of ships, and at one time maintained an obstinate battle against two English frigates, which were obliged to cease the combat, after having received considerable damage. This man's name became a terror to the merchants of Great Britain ; for his valour was not more remarkable in battle than his conduct (*ability*) in eluding (*escaping*) the pursuit of the British cruisers, which were successively detached in quest (*search*) of him, through every part of the German Ocean and North Seas, as far as the Orkney islands. The court of Versailles was not insensible to his merit. He obtained a commission from the French king, and was vested with the command of the small armament now fitting in the harbour of Dunkirk. The British government, being apprised of all these particulars, took such measures to defeat the purposed invasion as must have conveyed a very high idea of the power of Great Britain

to those who consider that, exclusive of the force opposed to this design, they at the same time carried on the most vigorous and important operations of war in Germany, America, and the East and West Indies. Thuriot's armament at Dunkirk was watched by an English squadron in the Downs, commanded by commodore Boys; the port of Havre was guarded by rear-admiral Rodney; Mr. Boscawen had been stationed off Toulon; and the coast of Vannes was scoured by a small squadron detached from sir Edward Hawke, who had, during the summer, blocked up the harbour of Brest, where Conflans lay with his fleet, in order to be joined by the other divisions of the armament. These different squadrons of the British navy were connected by a chain of separate cruisers; so that the whole coast of France, from Dunkirk to the extremity of Bretagne, was distressed by an actual blockade.

The French ministry being thus opposed, forebore their attempt upon Britain; and the projected (*intended*) invasion seemed to hang in suspense till the month of August, in the beginning of which their army in Germany was defeated at Minden. Their designs in that country being baffled (*frustrated*) by this disaster, they seemed to turn their chief attention to their sea armament; the preparations were resumed with redoubled vigour; and they resolved to try their fortune in a descent (*invasion*). They now proposed to disembark a body of troops in Ireland. Thuriot received orders to sail from Dunkirk the first opportunity, and direct his course round the northern parts of Scotland, that he might alarm the coast of Ireland, and make a diversion from that part where Conflans intended to effect the disembarkation of his troops. The transports and ships of war were assembled at Brest and Rochefort, having on board a train of artillery, with saddles and other accoutrements for cavalry, to be mounted in Ireland; and a body of French troops, including part of the Irish brigade, was kept in readiness to embark. The execution of this scheme, was, however, prevented by the vigilance of sir Edward Hawke, who blocked up the harbour of Brest with a fleet of twenty-three large ships; while another squadron of smaller ships and frigates, under the command of captain Duff, continued to cruise along the French coast, from Port

L'Orient, in Bretagne, to the point of St. Gilles in Poitou. At length, however, in the beginning of November, the British squadron, commanded by sir Edward Hawke, sir Charles Hardy, and rear-admiral Geary, were driven from the coast of France by stress of weather, and on the ninth day of the month anchored in Torbay. The French admiral, Conflans, snatched this opportunity of sailing from Brest, with one-and-twenty sail of the line and four frigates, in hopes of being able to destroy the English squadron, commanded by captain Duff, before the large fleet could return from the coast of England. Sir Edward Hawke, having gained intelligence that the French fleet had sailed from Brest, immediately stood to sea, in order to pursue them; and in the meantime the government issued orders for guarding all those parts of the coast that were thought the most exposed to a descent. The land forces were put in motion, and quartered along the shore of Kent and Sussex; all the ships of war in the different harbours, even those which had just arrived from America, were ordered to put to sea, and every step was taken to disconcert (*defeat*) the designs of the enemy.

While these measures were taken with equal vigour and deliberation, sir Edward Hawke steered his course directly for Quiberon, on the coast of Bretagne, which he supposed would be the rendezvous of the French squadron: but, notwithstanding his utmost efforts, he was driven by a hard gale considerably to the westward, where he was joined by two frigates, the Maidstone and Coventry. These he directed to keep ahead of the squadron. The weather growing more moderate, the former made the signal for seeing a fleet, on the 20th November, at half an hour past eight o'clock in the morning, and in an hour afterwards discovered them to be the enemy of which they were in search. They were at that time in chase of captain Duff's squadron, which now joined the large fleet, after having run some risk of being taken. Sir Edward Hawke, who, when the Maidstone gave the first notice, had formed the line abreast, now perceiving that the French admiral endeavoured to escape with all the sail he could carry, threw out a signal for seven of his ships that were nearest the enemy to chase, and endeavour to detain them, until they could be reinforced by the rest of the squadron, which were

ordered to form into a line of battle ahead, as they chased, that no time might be lost in the pursuit. Considering the roughness of the weather, which was extremely tempestuous,—the nature of the coast, which is in this place rendered very hazardous by a great number of sandbanks, shoals, rocks, and islands, as entirely unknown to the British sailors as they were familiar to the French navigators,—the dangers of a short day, dark night, and lee shore,—it required extraordinary resolution in the English admiral to attempt hostilities on this occasion; but sir Edward Hawke, steeled (*armed*) by the fortitude of his own heart, animated by a warm love for his country, and well acquainted with the importance of the stake on which the safety of that country, in a great measure, depended, was resolved to run extraordinary risks in his endeavours to frustrate (*render useless*) at once the boasted projects of the enemy. With respect to his ships of the line, he had but the advantage of one in point of number, and no superiority in men or metal (*guns*), consequently M. de Conflans might have hazarded a fair battle in the open sea, without any imputation (*accusation*) of temerity (*rashness*); but he thought proper to play a more artful game, though it did not succeed according to his expectation. He kept the fleet in a body, and retired close in shore, with a view to draw the English squadron among the shoals and islands, on which he hoped they would pay dear for their rashness and impetuosity, while he and his officers, who were perfectly acquainted with the navigation, could either stay, and take advantage of the disaster, or, if hard pressed, retire through channels unknown to the British pilots. At half an hour after two the van of the English fleet began the engagement with the rear of the enemy, in the neighbourhood of Belleisle. Every ship, as she advanced, poured in a broadside on the sternmost of the French, and bore down upon their van, leaving the rest to those who came after. Sir Edward Hawke, in the Royal George, of one hundred and ten guns, reserved his fire in passing through the rear of the enemy, and ordered his master to bring him alongside of the French admiral, who commanded in person on board the Soleil Royal, a ship mounted with eighty cannon, with a complement of twelve hundred men. When the pilot remonstrated that he

could not obey his command without the most imminent risk of running upon a shoal, the veteran replied, "You have done your duty in showing the danger; now you are to comply with my order, and lay me alongside the *Soleil Royal*." His wish was gratified: the *Royal George* ranged up with the French admiral. The *Thésée*, another large ship of the enemy, gallantly running up between the two commanders, sustained the fire that was reserved for the *Soleil Royal*; but in returning the first broadside foundered (*went to the bottom*), in consequence of the high sea, that entered her lower-deck ports and filled her with water. Notwithstanding the boisterous weather, a great number of ships on both sides fought with equal fury and dubious (*doubtful*) success, till about four in the afternoon, when the *Formidable* struck her colours. The *Superbe* shared the fate of the *Thésée*. The *Hero* hauled (*pulled*) down her colours in token of submission, and dropped anchor; but the wind was so high, that no boat could be sent to take possession. By this time daylight began to fail, and the greater part of the French fleet escaped under cover of the darkness. Night approaching, the wind blowing with augmented violence on a lee-shore, and the British squadron being entangled among unknown shoals and islands, sir Edward Hawke made the signal for anchoring to the westward of the small island Dumet; and here the fleet remained all night in a very dangerous position, alarmed by the fury of the storm, and the incessant firing of guns of distress, without their knowing whether it proceeded from friend or enemy. The *Soleil Royal* had, under favour of the night, anchored also in the midst of the British squadron; but at day-break M. de Conflans ordered her cable to be cut, and she drove ahead to the westward of Croziè. The English admiral immediately made signal to the *Essex* to slip cable and pursue her; and in obeying this order she ran, unfortunately, on a sand bank, called Lefour, where the *Resolution*, another ship of the British squadron, was already grounded. Here they were both irrecoverably lost, in spite of all the assistance that could be given; but all their men and part of their stores were saved, and the wrecks set on fire by order of the admiral. He likewise detached the *Portland*, *Chatham*, and *Vengeance*, to destroy the *Soleil Royal*, which was burned by her own people, before the English

ships could approach ; but they arrived time enough to reduce the *Hero* to ashes, on the *Lefour*, where she had been also stranded ; while the *Juste*, another of their great ships, perished in the mouth of the *Loire*. The admiral, perceiving seven large ships of the enemy riding at anchor between point *Penvas* and the mouth of the river *Vilaine*, made the signal to weigh, in order to attack them ; but the fury of the storm increased to such a degree, that he was obliged to remain at anchor, and even order the top-gallant masts to be struck (*lowered*). In the meantime, the French ships being lightened of their cannon, their officers took advantage of the flood (*high tide*) and a more moderate gale, under land, to enter the *Vilaine*, where they lay within half a mile of the entrance, protected by some temporary batteries erected on the shore, and by two large frigates moored across the mouth of the harbour. Thus they were effectually secured from any attempts of small vessels ; and as for large ships, there was not water sufficient to float them within fighting distance of the enemy. On the whole, this battle, in which a very inconsiderable number of lives were lost, may be regarded as one of the most perilous and important that ever happened in any war between the two nations ; for it not only defeated the projected invasion, but gave the finishing blow to the naval power of France, which was totally disabled from undertaking anything of consequence in the sequel.

READING XCI.

ADVENTURES OF CHARLES STUART, THE PRETENDER.

Born 1720—Died 1788.

ON Monday, the 14th of April, 1746, two days before the battle of *Culloden*, the young chevalier mustered his troops in the town of *Inverness*, and walked along the lines, encouraging them as he passed. Never were men in better spirits. They raised a cheerful huzza, and expressed themselves with a confidence which denounced, as it were, on their enemies, that fatal blow they them-

selves received. "We have seen Cumberland before ; we will give him another Fontenoy," was the phrase of the day. Thus exulting, on they marched to the parks of Culloden and Castle Hill, on which they encamped ; while the chevalier and his general officers took up their lodging in the mansion-houses.

About six o'clock the next morning the pipes of the Highlanders played, the drums of the French beat to arms, and the troops marched in order of battle to the place of engagement, where they halted and rested on their arms, expecting, with the utmost impatience, every moment to engage the royalists. The chevalier, desirous of improving this ardour of his troops, proposed to them to march forward, about nine o'clock at night, and attack the duke's army in the dark ; "For," said he, "they will be drowned in sleep, the effect of this day's rejoicing, as it is the birth-day of the usurper's son." This scheme being approved of by Sullivan, Sheridan, and the other chiefs, the army, big with the hopes of success, defiled about ten o'clock, in the most silent manner, with two pieces of cannon ; and through parks and bye-ways, arrived by one in the morning on Kil-drummy Muir, within two miles of the duke of Cumberland's camp.

The pickets of the royal army were disposed in the best order, but were no way able to resist their united force, had they marched directly on ; but here, through a most unaccountable error, they separated. The chevalier, with one body, turned to the north-west in order to surround the enemy, which he thought himself able to do. About two o'clock he came so near the sentries as to hear them calling to and answering each other. Now was the time for executing his daring scheme, which nothing but the most fatal delusion could have prevented. But instead of proceeding to action, he stopped to deliberate, and called a council of war, to resolve the question whether they were to advance or not. It was decided in the negative, a resolution which extremely provoked the chevalier, who exclaimed with an oath—"Are my orders still disobeyed ? Fight when you will, gentlemen, the day is not mine !" He then gave orders for marching back to the field of battle, and for reposing themselves upon their arms. One battalion remained at Inverness,

while the main body came up to the place of action. The chevalier, with most of his general officers, returned to Culloden-house, where they reposed themselves for some hours, and ordered a hot dinner to be got ready for them. In the meantime the royalists advanced, and by eleven o'clock were observed at the distance of two miles; an express was sent to the chevalier with the intelligence, and a cannon was fired as a signal of the enemy's approach. He instantly rose up, and when at the foot of the stairs was met by the steward, who told him that his dinner, which was a roasted side of lamb and two fowls, was just ready to be served up. "What," replied the chevalier, "would you have me sit down to victuals, when my enemy is so near me?" This said, he mounted on horseback, and galloped up to the Muir, where he assisted in the disposition of his troops, who were already drawn out. Those who were sleeping in the parks and by the sides of the dikes, being awakened by the noise of the cannon, ran into their respective regiments, and joined the companies to which they belonged. Everything being disposed on each side, the battle began; the issue of which being well known to every one acquainted with English history, we shall not stop to describe, but proceed to relate the consequences of it with regard to the person of the chevalier.

This young commander, being posted with a body of reserve at a considerable distance, was the spectator of a scene, which at once blasted his hopes, and ruined his arms; he had the cruel mortification of seeing those troops, whom he had considered as invincible, flying off in the most miserable disorder and confusion. He did all in his power to reanimate them, and to persuade them to return to the charge, but all to no purpose. He rode up to the several corps as they were retreating, addressing them in the most energetic language. But all were deaf to his entreaties, for the greater part of them knew not what he said, while others who understood the English tongue, cried out, "Prince! oh! au! oh! au!" (a Scottish exclamation indicative of the greatest grief.) The rout now became general, and the chevalier seeing that all was lost, spurred his horse and galloped off at full speed. But during the confusion his wig and bonnet fell off, which last was taken up and preserved as a relic;

the former he recovered just as it was falling from the pommel of the saddle. He made directly to the water of Nairn, which he crossed, and then joined the clans who had made the attack upon the left wing of the royal army, and who had halted at a place about two miles from the field of action. It was here determined that he should proceed to the house of Mr. Fraser, of Gortlich in Stratherrick, where the old lord Lovat was then residing, and should there consult with that nobleman upon his future measures. Accordingly he began his journey with twenty horsemen about six o'clock at night, having directed two hundred more to be at the same place by the next day's dawn. About nine he arrived at his place of destination, but instead of finding the consolation or advice he expected, the moment he entered the old lord's room, his ears were assailed with the bitterest complaints. "Chop off my head, chop off my head!" cried the old lord; "my own family, with all the great clans, are undone, and all the blame will fall upon me." The prince endeavoured to pacify him, and to persuade him to consider that all was not lost; he extolled the bravery of the Highland troops, but all was unavailing; he failed to raise the drooping spirits of Lovat, who could not be prevailed upon, by any representations, to deliberate upon any measures whatsoever.

The mistress of the house observing that the chevalier was fatigued for want of sleep, and quite disheartened by the event of the day, ordered a fowl to be roasted for his supper, and a bed to be prepared. When he had refreshed, he went to his chamber, but slept little, owing to over anxiety. Being unable to compose himself in bed, he got up, and looking out of the window, saw some of his guards approaching the house. Then dressing himself, he immediately repaired to them, and after saluting them very affectionately, brought in some of the officers into the room, where lord Lovat was, in the hope of inducing him to enter upon some deliberation. This second attempt, however, was as unavailing as the first, and the young chevalier and his followers, perceiving that the old man was not to be wrought upon, withdrew to refresh themselves with such things as the place afforded. The chevalier eating a wing of the fowl which was dressed for him the night before, put the remainder in his pocket,

and then dismissed almost all his attendants, with a short speech at parting, which he concluded thus—"Now, gentlemen, consult your own safety, for I can no longer advance you any pay (here he nearly burst into tears). But if you and I escape, I shall be sure to use my utmost endeavours abroad, to procure you appointments, suitable to your merits, in the foreign armies."

The chevalier was now left with about seven officers and two servants, with his two favourites, Sullivan and Sheridan, whose utmost skill, policy, and experience were now in the highest degree requisite, towards procuring their own safety and that of their master.

Sullivan proposed that without loss of time they should repair to Glengary, the proprietor of which, Mr. M'Donald, had together with all his clan, been in the interests of the chevalier. Here they arrived in safety on the 20th of April, about ten o'clock in the morning, and were received with great kindness and humanity.

It was here the young chevalier passed the first cool moments since his irretrievable (*not to be repaired*) disaster, and began calmly to deliberate on what was proper to be done. By the advice of Lochiel, a gentleman of unquestionable fidelity, zeal, and ability, it was determined that they should skulk about in a body for some time, and wait the succours they expected from France. They accordingly proceeded to Achnacarrie, which, upon the approach of the clan of the Campbells (in the interests of the government), they left for the Green of Keppoch, where they arrived with their whole retinue. Here the chevalier, who put up in Keppoch's house, was sensibly touched with the change of his fortune; he, that some few months ago, appeared in that place with the M'Donalds of Glengary, and Clanronald, the Camerons, &c., big with the hopes of a crown, now saw himself reduced to the necessity of flying to that place as a fugitive, incapable of sustaining the dignity and name he had assumed; and moreover he had the further mortification of hearing the cries and groans of a disconsolate widow and six fatherless children; for Keppoch was dead of the wounds he had received in the battle of Culloden. After staying here all night, the party set out next morning for Glenphillin, where the Camerons, on his first landing, had set up his standard. Here they

entered into a cave, not far from the place, where everything was prepared for their reception ; and Lochiel, having with him a guard of between fifty and sixty resolute men, and sentries being placed six miles round, no great danger was apprehended. Here they continued three days, and were plentifully supplied with everything necessary for their support, but the chevalier, unable to bear the tortures of anxiety, determined again to shift his quarters.

This resolution turned out peculiarly unfortunate, as in the beginning of May, two French men-of-war appeared off the western coast, with about forty thousand Louis d'or, ammunition, liquors, and provisions. The Pretender's friends being disingenuous, or rather dishonest enough, not to inform the French of the desperate state of his affairs, until all these succours had been landed, they, upon discovering the truth, sailed away highly indignant ; however, they carried off a considerable number of noblemen, gentlemen, and officers ; but Lochiel determined to remain behind until he saw what turn his master's affairs might take, and in the meantime desired that they would not fail to send over some more vessels to carry off the remainder of the party.

The chevalier bitterly lamented his ill-fortune in missing this opportunity of escape ; the more so as, in consequence of two proclamations issued by the duke of Cumberland, the one offering pardon and protection to such of the common people as should return to their allegiance, and the other enjoining all persons to make diligent search after rebels, few of his partizans continued in arms, except the Camerons. He now determined, by the advice of Sullivan, to seek an asylum in the island of Lewis, where they might, perhaps, be fortunate enough to find a vessel to transport them to France. Unable, however, to procure a boat to transport them thither, they were compelled to wander for three days and nights among the mountains, till they could obtain one. At length their anxiety was removed, by the appearance of a small skiff, in which they embarked for South Uist ; at the same time telling several persons who had gathered round, that they intended for Lewis. Ultimately, however, they landed at Canna, a small island westward of Mull, belonging to Clanronald, a firm adherent to the

Stuarts. Into this place the boat put, and landed her passengers, who went up to the houses of the principal inhabitants, who received them with the utmost friendship and hospitality. After remaining here a few days, the chevalier sailed to South Uist, but had not been there long when he received the disastrous intelligence, that lord George Sackville and major Wilson were making the most diligent search for him all along that coast. Sullivan, upon being consulted, was of opinion that he and the chevalier should separate, "I think," said he, "your highness and I should separate, for certainly if many be found about the house, we shall be discovered; put on woman's apparel for the present, and I will go with Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Buchanan, and the other gentlemen to the other end of the island, where perhaps we may meet with a boat, and sail over to Ireland, where I am not afraid of being secure, though indeed your highness ought not to venture there; for, as fifty thousand pounds are there set upon your head, I would trust none of them. As for me, if I get over to France, I shall represent your case to the court of Versailles." "Well, then," said the chevalier, quite overcome with grief (for his parting with Sullivan is said by one who stood near him, to have been like tearing his heart from his body), "take my cloak-bag with you, show my pocket-book to my cousin, the king of France, as a token of my distress; and I hope a vessel will soon be sent for me, if you arrive in France, which pray God you may." Sullivan made the most solemn protestations of his inviolable attachment to his interests, and of his faithfully observing the instructions given him. Then all took leave of their unhappy master, and set out with plenty of provisions, which Clanronald's lady had prepared on purpose. They met opportunely with a boat, in which they sailed for Ireland, and from thence, in disguise, to France, where Sullivan discharged the trust reposed in him.

READING XCII.

ADVENTURES OF CHARLES STUART, THE PRETENDER,
CONCLUDED.

Born 1720.—Died 1788:

MEANTIME the royalists were approaching, and perhaps might have been sooner at the place, had not the half-flood stopped them for some time. The lady Clanronald now besought the chevalier, with tears in her eyes, to think of some method for escaping, if he did not approve of Sullivan's; but his spirits almost failing, he knew not what to do. Whereupon the lady said, "Here is a young gentlewoman, Miss Flora M'Donald, upon whom I will prevail to take your highness under her protection." Accordingly, that lady having readily undertaken the task, lady Clanronald brought a gown and all other clothes necessary for one of her sex, to the chevalier, who kept on nothing of his own apparel but his breeches and stockings. He dressed himself with the help of the lady, who ordered a boat to be got ready for them, and a servant to attend along with the boatmen, who were directed to conduct Miss Flora and her supposed maid to Skye. They continued all night at sea, and next morning arrived at the island, and set out for the laird of M'Kinnon's house. Here it being no longer convenient for the chevalier to continue his disguise, the laird furnished him with a short coat and waistcoat, fitted to disguise his rank. From Skye he was conveyed to Raarsa, but the proprietor of that island being apprehensive of a search, he advised him to return to Skye. The commander of the British forces having, however, received intelligence of the circumstances of the chevalier's escape, marched his troops along the coast till they came opposite to Skye, having previously sent captain Ferguson thither in the cutter. That vessel soon arrived at its destination, but the captain suspecting that the chevalier might be hiding among the M'Kinnons, ordered the pilot to steer to that part of the country that belonged to them. Accordingly they put in within pistol-shot of the shore, just at the

spot where the fugitive they were seeking actually was. Here he had certainly been discovered, had it not been for a rising ground, behind which he retired and made off. The boatman now observing that general Campbell was on the point of landing with his militia, and that a king's ship, conducted by a ship-master of Inverlochry, was so near, thought proper to haul his boat to the other side of the island, and row the chevalier to the continent.

About five o'clock in the afternoon they set out for Glenelge, and arrived in about three hours upon the coast. Here the fisherman drew the boat up to a creek, fenced on all sides, and there landed his passenger. It was now about nine o'clock at night, and they walked along the shore for some time in order to observe what was going on in the country. Here it was that the chevalier met with one of the most singular adventures that perhaps ever happened to any man ; for at this place a company of militia were waiting, in hopes the unhappy fugitive might fall into their hands. To make the more sure of their prize, they had with them a blood-hound to trace him out. The dog was within a stone's throw of them, and the men not much further off, when M'Kinnon, the assumed name of the boatman, observed them, and particularly suspected the animal ; whereupon he advised his passenger instantly to pull off all his clothes, and enter the water up to the neck ; " For," said he, " if you go in with your clothes on you may catch your death. In the meantime I will divert the smell of the dog with these fishes," he having some on a string in his hand. The affrighted chevalier instantly did as he was directed, and M'Kinnon, having hid the chevalier's clothes in a cleft of the rock, began to amuse the dog with his fish. The artifice succeeded so well as effectually to secure the chevalier ; but the animal would not quit the fisherman till he was secured by the militia-men, who kept him all night and part of the next day. When he left them, he set out in an opposite direction to that he intended to go ; but when he judged himself out of their reach, he turned into the road leading to the place where he supposed the chevalier yet was. He found him there indeed, and employed in such a manner as could not but affect even the rough heart of the hardy fisherman. He found him searching for muscles and

other small shell-fish upon the crags, and breaking them between two stones, eating the fish as he opened them, to satisfy the cravings of a hunger never, perhaps, so keen before. No sooner did he set eyes on M'Kinnon, than he fell on his knees, and, with uplifted hands, thanked Heaven for returning him his friend.

The chevalier having met with this surprising deliverance, and observing the fidelity of his guide, resolved to submit entirely to his directions. "Conduct me," said he to M'Leod (the boatman's real name,) "where you will—I am resolved to follow you." "Well, then," replied he, "we will go a little further to the northward, where your highness has many friends, though they have not been in arms for your interest, which, as things have happened, makes it so much the better, because they are the less suspected, and the militia are not upon the watch among them."

Hereupon they proceeded a few miles, till they came to the house of one M'Kenzie, who received the chevalier very kindly, and entertained him with such respect, though with all possible privacy, as plainly showed how much he sympathized with the wanderer in his distress.

Here, and in the neighbourhood, the chevalier, who now discharged the fisherman, continued till about the 21st of July, when hearing of general Campbell's having landed at Apple-cross bay, he thought proper to quit the country entirely, though he might have remained in it very safely. But the anxieties of his mind grew upon him so, that he had hardly resolution enough to continue in one place for two nights together; but especially, whenever he heard that the enemy were advancing, though as yet at a considerable distance, he would not stay a moment, but instantly made off, with all the marks of the greatest fear and trepidation.

He now took the road towards Inverness; but when within two miles of Brahan he turned aside and crossed a little above Beulie, and, in the habit of a peasant, went through Strathglass, and so in the night-time travelled through Glengary to Badenoeh, where his faithful Clunie M'Pherson provided for his safety, and furnished him with all accommodations that could be procured in the forlorn state, not only of the wanderer, but of all his fol-

lowers. Indeed, he was now more secure than he thought himself to be : this was owing to the report that about this time prevailed of his being dead, which being generally believed by those hitherto employed in search of him, they grew more remiss, and gave themselves less trouble about him. A chain of sentries, from Inverary almost to Inverness, had stood for near two months, guarding the passes in hopes of intercepting him ; the hopes, however, of so doing were but slight, considering the vast extent of the country, and the numerous woods, lakes, mountains, and hollows with which it abounds. Enquiry having been made of a party of Kingston's horse, which came to Edinburgh from Fort Augustus, respecting their huntings after the chevalier, they declared that they had been in sight of him more than once, but that, by means of some lake, mountain, ravine, or wood, he had always escaped.

The seizure of several of the chevalier's friends being known throughout the country, the inhabitants began to be very backward in receiving or assisting them ; however, he still found some who would not only run the risk of entertaining him, but even of accompanying him in his solitary retreats.

One day, as he was complaining to Clunie M'Pherson of the danger of his situation, and expressing a desire of shifting his abode again, Clunie told him that he had just heard of the duke of Cumberland's having gone off for England, and that the camp at Fort Augustus would very speedily be broken up ; "Therefore," continued he, "wait here for some time longer, and, my life for yours, you are safe." But this generous and salutary advice was disregarded by the too apprehensive adventurer, who, ever wavering, fearful, and terrified almost at the neighing of a horse, or the appearance of a single man, though at the greatest distance, could never be prevailed upon to stay long in a place, though certainly, by often removing, he ran the more hazards.

There is a hill within ten miles of Daalnacardich and seventeen of Blair, standing near a rivulet that divides the county of Inverness from that of Perth, and within sight of the great road which the government constructed in 1728 : this hill was judged a place of safety, and to

it the chevalier repaired. But still the most tormenting fears continually haunted him night and day ; every thing was perpetually giving him the alarm, and he heard his pursuers in every whistling of the wind.

Several who accompanied him in his wanderings have expressed their astonishment at the fright he manifested upon all occasions. When from this hill he has observed any parties of the enemy marching along the great road, his countenance has been observed to change, and the hair of his head to stand on end. Yet still he preserved so much strength and vigour as to be able, on every emergency, to make the best of his way.

The news of the execution of lords Kilmarnock, Balmerino, and Cromarty, was received by the chevalier about the end of August. He seemed very deeply affected with their fate, and spoke of Kilmarnock with pity, of Balmerino with the greatest warmth and affection, but of Cromarty with the utmost contempt. Just about this time, the chevalier received an invitation from Lochiel to repair to him, appointing a certain cave for the meeting-place. Accordingly he, with his few attendants, set out one evening about twilight, and travelled all night, dressed in the Highland habit and wearing black cockades, except the chevalier, who could not be prevailed upon to assume that part of the disguise. When they arrived at the place where Lochiel was, they mutually embraced each other, and, without loss of time, began to consult on the most likely means for facilitating their escape out of Scotland. After mature deliberation, it was agreed that they should separately repair to the sea-coast by different roads, and observe if any ship from France should appear, on board of which they might embark : that the person who should first discover it should immediately go aboard, and direct the vessel how to proceed for the others, and set up a signal agreed on, by which she might be known. This being fully settled, they separated, and marched off by different routes. The chevalier, with three or four attendants, made for the country of the M'Kenzies, crossed the long tract of country belonging to them, and came to Kinsail. Here they entered the house of one M'Rae, hoping for a kind reception ; but the man, whether from a natural churlishness, or from fear of being called to an account, or from the desire of having some money put

into his hands, received them but coldly, and told them, "He did not believe it safe to entertain such guests." Hereupon the chevalier left the house with very little ceremony, and went towards the water side, in hopes of meeting with his faithful boatman, M'Kinnon. But as no boat appeared, he was obliged to wait for forty-eight hours in the most anxious expectation. All night he sheltered himself on the sides of the hills, for he never could sleep two nights in one place, and in the day-time he walked along the shore, or sat down by the sides of the rocks. At last M'Kinnon came with the boat, and, meeting with the chevalier, embraced him with the most affectionate tenderness. Indeed, the then circumstances of the unhappy fugitive could not but raise pity in every generous breast; for his linen was very foul, and his clothes much worn by lying out in the open air; his shoes were almost completely destroyed; add to all this, he was tormented with the itch, the consequence of his not being able to keep himself clean.

The fisherman, M'Leod, received him into his boat with the greatest satisfaction, and conducted him to the house of a gentleman, who gave him the heartiest welcome, and supplied him with clothes, linen, shoes, and all other necessaries he wanted. From here he went to Skye, the boatman conducting him to his own house, where he was entertained with a fine hot supper of fresh fish and sauce, and afterwards provided with a clean, wholesome, warm bed, though composed of no better materials than straw and blankets.

It was now about the 3d of September, and the nights beginning to lengthen, were the more favourable to the chevalier, who was desired to remain at the fisherman's house while his host went with his boat towards Uist, to see if any vessel had arrived in those parts. But this proposal the chevalier rejected, declaring, "that he would not part from M'Kinnon, and that he looked upon his boat as the best place of safety."

Having, therefore, taken in a few provisions, and a bottle of usquebaugh, they set sail for Harris, where they stayed all night, and next day steered their course for North Uist, where they were kindly entertained. In short, all the day-time they spent at sea, and at night they took care to get a lodging in houses and places of

retreat known to the boatman. Doubtless the chevalier's dress contributed not a little to screen him from discovery; for who that saw him in any of his wanderings, rambling about in a fishing-boat, with a coarse grey plaid thrown about him, and an old bonnet on his head, would have imagined that this was the daring youth that but a little before made the whole island of Great Britain tremble, and shook the throne of one of the greatest princes of Europe.

From North Uist they set sail for Ardnamurchan, where the chevalier was of opinion he might safely venture, on the supposition that the enemy would not keep so sharp a look out in a country which they had, in a manner, destroyed with fire and sword. In about twelve hours they arrived at a place called M'Lean's Nose, which lies near Cambusnageaul and Mingry Castle. From hence the chevalier desired M'Kinnon to conduct him to Scallisdale Bay in Mull; "For there," said he, "we may possibly find some of my faithful friends." All that night they sailed on, and next morning arrived at the intended place. Here, being apprehensive that he might be discovered, he set sail for Tobermory, where they landed that night, and went straight to the young laird of M'Kinnon's house in Muisnish, where his lady, a sister of Clanronald's, kindly received and entertained him. And here it appeared that the chevalier's fears were far from being groundless, for the people of the Trial sloop of war having intelligence of him, sailed to Tobermory after him; and getting intelligence where he was, they sent one party to the house, while a boat, well manned with sailors, fell down about three miles lower; these landed in a neighbouring village, which they instantly surrounded, that they might be sure of him, in case he might be there. And now, in all likelihood, the adventurer must have been taken, after all his escapes, had not lady M'Kinnon's maid furnished him with woman's clothes, to which he was again obliged for his safety. In this disguise he passed the guard in company with the lady and her maid, who gave the men money for their civility in letting them go unmolested. The chevalier and his protectors hastened down to that end of Mull which is nearest to Coll, where a boat, well manned, was ready to receive him. In this boat he went over to Coll.

where he readily found entertainment, as the better part of the island belonged to one Hector M'Lean. But being pursued hither, the chevalier fled in the same boat to Egg; whither his pursuers also following him, he removed from thence to Barra. But hither they likewise followed; and here he had certainly not escaped, had not the boatmen brought up the boat to a place which the enemy could not observe; and, the very moment the king's men landed, the others again put to sea, and wafted the chevalier over to South Uist; and that very night he went to the harbour of Flota, where, to his inexpressible joy, he found a French schooner of about eighteen or twenty tons, which had been waiting for him. Besides the chevalier, this vessel also took on board about seven persons who had been partaking in his adversity; among these was his faithful and beloved Lochiel. The next morning, viz. September 17, they set sail for Boulogne, and, after a few days' passage, arrived safe in that harbour, to the amazement of all who saw them.

READING XCIII.

GEORGE III.

NAVAL AND MILITARY TRANSACTIONS IN THE WEST
INDIES.

1762.

In 1760, George III., grandson to George II., ascended the throne of Great Britain, and commenced the longest and most eventful reign to be found in the annals of our country.

The spirit with which Mr. Pitt had carried on the French war, and the obligation under which the new ministers found themselves of declaring hostilities against Spain, made them sensible of the necessity of showing the people, and convincing their enemies, that neither the vigour of the nation, nor the wisdom of its councils, depended upon a single man. They, accordingly, made greater and more successful efforts than any under his

administration, though the supplies fell short of those of the preceding year by one million; of these efforts, not the least were those made, by the means of powerful armaments for the reduction of the French and Spanish islands in the West Indies.

One expedition, which had been prepared under the administration of Mr. Pitt, was destined against Martinique, the largest and best fortified of the French windward islands. It was composed of nine thousand soldiers, headed by general Monckton, and of eighteen ships of the line, beside frigates, fire-ships, and bomb-ketches, under the direction of rear-admiral Rodney. The troops were disembarked, without the loss of a man, in the neighbourhood of Fort Royal, the strongest place in the island; and by gaining, with incredible fortitude, possession of some eminences, named Tortenson and Garnier, by which it was commanded (and which were then ill-fortified, but gallantly defended), the invaders soon made the governor sensible of the necessity of surrendering the citadel, in order to save the town from being laid in ashes.

On the reduction of Fort Royal (which capitulated on the 4th of February), M. de la Touche, the governor-general, retired to St. Pierre, a large and populous town on the same side of the island. He there seemed determined to make a last stand; but, through the earnest solicitations of the inhabitants, anxious for the preservation of their property, and envious of the prosperity which the planters of Guadeloupe enjoyed under the English government, he was prevailed upon to submit, and obtained terms of capitulation for the whole island before the place was invested. With Martinique fell Grenada, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and every other place belonging to France, or occupied by Frenchmen, though reputed neutral, in the extensive chain of the Caribbee islands.

Before the success of this expedition was known in England, another armament was ready to sail. Its object was the Havannah, the principal seaport in the island of Cuba, the key of the Gulf of Mexico, and the centre of the Spanish trade and navigation in the new world. The conception of the enterprise was great, as it struck immediately at the very basis of the enemy's power: and the armament was equal to its object. It consisted of

nineteen ships of the line, eighteen frigates and sloops, and about one hundred and fifty transports, with ten thousand soldiers on board, who were to be joined by four thousand men from North America. The command of the fleet was entrusted to admiral Pococke, who had before distinguished himself in the East Indies. The land forces were under the direction of the earl of Albemarle, and the whole armament, which assembled off the north-west point of Hispaniola, and which was conducted for the sake of expedition, with uncommon nautical (*naval*) ability, through the old channel of Bahama, arrived on the 6th of June, in sight of those formidable fortifications that were to be stormed.

The Havannah stands near the end of a small bay, which forms one of the most secure and capacious harbours in the world. The entrance into this harbour is by a narrow channel, strongly fortified on each side. The mouth of that channel, when visited by the English fleet, under Pococke, was defended by two strong forts; on the east side by one named the Moro, and on the west by another, called the Puntal. The Moro had, towards the sea, two bastions, and on the land side two others, with a wide and deep ditch cut out of the rock. The Puntal, also surrounded by a ditch, cut in the same manner, was provided with casemates, and every way well calculated for co-operating with the Moro in defence of the harbour. It had likewise some batteries that opened upon the country, and flanked part of the town wall. That wall, which was not in the best repair, twenty-one bastions, not in a much better state, a dry ditch of no considerable width, and a covered way almost in ruins, formed the only defence of the city itself. It has, therefore, been thought by some military men, that the operations ought to have commenced with the attack of the town by land, especially as it was impracticable to attack it by sea, the entrance of the harbour being not only defended by the forts, but by fourteen ships of the line, three of which were afterwards sunk in the channel, and a boom (*bar*) laid across it.

But the earl of Albemarle thought otherwise, either from his ignorance of the state of the fortifications, or from seeing objects in a different light. The troops were therefore no sooner landed, and a body of the enemy that

attempted to oppose their progress dispersed, than he began to form the siege of the Moro, which he deemed (*considered*), perhaps justly, the grand object of the armament, as the reduction of it must infallibly (*certainly*) be followed by the surrender of the city ; whereas, if he had attacked the town first, his army might have been so weakened as to be unable to surmount (*overcome*) the vigorous resistance of the fort, defended not only by the garrison, but by the flower of the inhabitants, zealous to save their own and the public treasure. A post was accordingly seized upon the higher ground, and batteries were erected, though with extreme difficulty. The earth was so thin on the face of the hill, that the troops could not easily cover their approaches, and it being necessary that the cannon and carriages should be dragged by the soldiers and sailors up a bold declivity, from a rough and rocky shore, many of the men, in that painful labour, while parched with thirst beneath a burning sun, dropped down dead. At length every obstacle was surmounted. The batteries disposed along a bridge on a level with the Moro, were opened with effect. The garrison had been repulsed with great slaughter, in an attempt to destroy them ; and the besiegers flattered themselves with the hope of a speedy period to their toils, when their principal battery took fire, and a work which had employed six hundred men for sixteen days, was consumed in a few hours.

READING XCIV.

NAVAL AND MILITARY TRANSACTIONS IN THE WEST INDIES.—CONCLUDED.—TAKING OF MANILLA.

1762.

THIS accident was peculiarly discouraging, as it happened at a crisis when the hardships of the siege, and the diseases of the climate, had rendered two-thirds of the English army unfit for service. The seamen were not in a much better condition ; yet both soldiers and sailors, animated by that active and persevering courage which so

remarkably distinguishes the natives of Great Britain, applied themselves with vigour to the reparation of damages. Unfortunately another battery took fire. The besiegers, however, impelled by every motive of glory, interest, and ambition, continued their efforts with unabated ardour. At length, after conquering numerous difficulties, they gained possession of the covered way. They made a lodgment before the right bastion, and a mine being sprung, which threw down part of the works into the ditch, a breach was observed ;—though small, the soldiers were ordered to storm it.

The attempt seemed desperate, as the Spanish garrison was still strong ; and the brave defence it had made allowed the besiegers no room to doubt of the vigilance, valour, and resolution of the commanders. But danger itself was only a stimulus to men who had so near a prospect of terminating their dreadful toils. They accordingly prepared for the assault with the utmost alacrity (*cheerfulness*) ; and mounting the breach under the command of lieutenant Forbes, supported by lieutenant-colonel Stuart, entered the fort with so much order and intrepidity, as entirely disconcerted the garrison (July 30). Four hundred of the Spaniards were cut to pieces, or perished in attempting to make their escape by water to the city ; the rest threw down their arms, and received quarter. The marquis Gonzalez, the second in command, was killed in bravely endeavouring to stop the flight of his countrymen ; and Velasco, the governor, having collected a small body of resolute men in an entrenchment around the flag-staff, gloriously fell in defending the ensign of Spain, which no entreaties could induce him to strike (*lower*).

No sooner did the Spaniards in the town and the Puntal see the besiegers in possession of the Moro, than they directed all their fire against that place. Meanwhile, the British troops, encouraged by their success, were vigorously employed in remounting the guns of the fort, and in erecting batteries upon an eminence that commanded the city. When this service was completed, the earl, willing to prevent an unnecessary carnage (*slaughter*), sent his aide-de-camp with a flag of truce (August 10), to summon the governor to surrender, as unavoidable destruction would otherwise fall upon the place. The haughty Spaniard

replied, that he was under no uneasy apprehensions, and that he would hold out to the last extremity.

The next morning, however, the batteries were opened with such effect, that flags of truce appeared in every quarter of the city about noon, and a deputy was sent to the camp of the besiegers, to settle the terms of capitulation. A cessation of hostilities immediately took place; and, as soon as the terms were adjusted, the Havannah, and a district of one hundred and eighty miles to the westward, included in its government—the Puntal and the ships in the harbour, were surrendered to his Britannic majesty. Without violating the articles of capitulation, which secured to the inhabitants their private property, the conquerors found a booty computed (*reckoned*) at near two millions sterling, in silver and valuable merchandize, belonging to the Catholic king, besides an immense quantity of arms, ammunition, and military stores.

This single blow, the greatest, perhaps, ever struck by any nation, tended to subvert (*overturn*) the power of the Bourbon princes, by cutting off their resources. The marine (*navy*) of France was already ruined; her finances were low. Spain, with her principal fortress in the West Indies, had lost a large fleet, and the conquest of the Havannah not only gave to England the absolute command of the Gulf of Mexico, but promised to put her in possession of the whole American Archipelago (*a sea abounding with small islands*).

The navy of Great Britain was superior to that of all the other powers of Europe combined. She had the means of supporting it in her immense commerce, which increased with her fleets; and both might almost be said to embrace the universe: for her conquests, during this season of glory, were not confined to the West Indies. The south of Asia also beheld her triumphs.

While the British forces were engaged in the siege of the Havannah, an armament sailed from Madras, under the direction of rear-admiral Cornish, and brigadier Draper, for the Philippine isles. The chief object of this enterprise was the reduction of the city of Manilla, the capital of the island of Luçonia, the seat of the Spanish government in those islands, and the centre of communication between South America and the East Indies.

The hostile fleet arrived in the bay of Manilla on the 23rd of September, before the governor had the least intimation of its approach, and even before he was informed of the war with England. He prepared, however, for a vigorous defence, and rejected, with disdain, the repeated summons of the British commanders. Necessary steps were consequently taken for landing the troops, consisting of two thousand three hundred men. The debarkation was safely effected ; an important post was seized, and batteries were formed. But the operations of the besiegers were much retarded by incessant and heavy falls of rain, accompanied with a dreadful tempest, which prevented the fleet from co-operating with the army ; and also by the unremitted attacks of the native Indians, a brave and hardy people, who rushed up to the muzzles of the British muskets, in their wild ferocity, and even gnawed the bayonets with their teeth, when mortally wounded.

Meanwhile the invaders, in spite of every obstacle, advanced towards the accomplishment of their enterprise. They had silenced the enemy's principal battery, and greatly damaged the fortifications towards the sea ; when, as a last effort to raise the siege, a desperate sally was made by a large body of Spaniards and Indians. Both, however, were repelled, after a sharp conflict. A practicable breach at length appeared in the works, and preparations were made for storming it.

In such circumstances, it might naturally have been expected that the governor, instead of remaining obstinate, would have offered to capitulate, in order to save the lives and property of the inhabitants. But no proposal of that kind was presented. General Draper, therefore, took the most effectual measures for carrying the place by assault. The troops having filed off from their quarters in small bodies, about four o'clock in the morning (October 6), advanced to the breach at the signal of a general discharge of artillery and mortars, and under cover of a thick smoke, which was blown full upon the town. Lieutenant Russell led the way, at the head of sixty volunteers, from the different bodies of which the army was composed, supported by the grenadiers of Draper's regiment. Colonel Morison and major More followed with two other divisions ; next came a battalion of seamen, and the troops of the India Company closed the rear.

The assailants behaved with great intrepidity. The Spaniards were soon driven from their works, and the place was entered with little loss. The governor, who had taken refuge in the citadel, surrendered at discretion, but solicited protection for the citizens: and the humanity and generosity of the British commanders saved the town from a general and justly-merited pillage. A ransom of four millions of dollars only was demanded for this relaxation of the laws of war. But it was stipulated at the same time, that the other fortified places in Luçonia, and in the islands dependent upon its government, should also be surrendered to his Britannic majesty. Thus the whole range of the Philippines fell with the city of Manilla.

The British empire had now acquired an extent that astonished the world. Victorious by land and by sea, in both hemispheres, and in every quarter of the globe, it seemed only necessary for England to determine what share of her conquests she should retain, and what terms she would impose upon the house of Bourbon; the king of Prussia being now in a condition to make terms for himself, or continue the war without further subsidies (*pecuniary aid*), and the king of Portugal having little to apprehend from Spain in her present state of weakness. It was therefore fondly hoped by the patriotic part of the English nation, that the glorious opportunity of finally humbling this haughty family, which had been so shamefully neglected and lost, through the prevalence of tory counsels, at the peace of Utrecht, was at last completely recovered; and that the family compact, lately so alarming to Great Britain, would terminate in the confusion of her ambitious enemies.

• In the midst of our splendid conquests, however, to the surprise of all Europe, and the indignant astonishment of every honest Englishman, a negotiation with the Bourbon courts had been agreed to by the ministers of his Britannic majesty. And before the event of the expedition against Manilla was known, preliminaries of a treaty of peace were signed at Fontainebleau, which have generally been considered as inadequate (*not equal*) to the advantages obtained by the British arms during the war, and which could certainly contribute little to the depression of France and Spain.

READING XCV.

THE CALAMITIES OF POLAND.

1764.

THE demise of Augustus the Third, king of Poland, who was of the family of Saxony, occurred a short time after the accession of Catherine II. to the throne of the Czars. At this period the empress had entered into a treaty of alliance for eight years with the king of Prussia; a treaty which obliged each party to assist the other in any war in which either of them might be engaged, with, at least, ten thousand infantry, and two thousand cavalry, and not to make peace except by mutual concurrence (*agreement*). This treaty made it the interest of Austria to have a Saxon prince on the throne of Poland, who might not be entirely dependent on Russia and Prussia. Saxony had a party in that country; but that of Russia, which was still more powerful, and, especially the family of Czartorisky, favoured the pretensions of Stanislaus Poniatowsky, who had acquired the confidence of the empress. His understanding and character were generally received in so favourable a light, that even his adversaries still wished that at least he might remain the second person in the state. A third party was formed, perhaps under the guidance of the Prussian monarch, by Zamoisky, which, from a professed regard to the interests of the country, seemed to wish to avoid all foreign interference with its concerns. The diet was tumultuous; and this afforded a pretext to the empress Catherine, as a *neighbour and friend* of Poland, to send some troops to Warsaw. The party of Czartorisky had the best concerted (*planned*) system; for whatever they wished to accomplish was proposed by others: they guided all the decisions, while in appearance they only accommodated themselves to the universal will; and their language was so moderate and obliging, that any opposition to it had the appearance of rudeness and violence. The king of Prussia left these affairs to the empress of Russia.

On the day of election, general Moeromofsky interposed his vote against any transaction that should take place

under such circumstances, but was compelled by the ill-treatment he met with to withdraw his opposition. Prince Adan Czartorisky, grand cup-bearer of Lithuania, became marshal of the diet; upon which the two generalissimos of the crown, the two Potockys, prince Radzyvil, Poninsky, and four thousand of their adherents, quitted Warsaw, followed by the grand treasurer with the *vayvode* (*governor*) of Volhynia. But Branicky, who was regarded as the head of this party, was deprived of his dignity, as a man who had withdrawn from the service of his country and the duties of his office at so critical a moment. Soltyk, bishop of Cracow, with thirty senators and sixty deputies, gave their free votes; and some regiments refused to obey any new generalissimo. Branicky, however, who was an old man, and surrounded by hordes, as far from being unanimous as they were impatient of restraint, was unable to maintain his cause; and prince Radzyvil, Potocky of Kyow, and others, dispersed to their several fortresses. The diet now decided that the new monarch must be a Piast, a native of the country, possessed of estates in Poland, young, handsome, and friendly to the customs of his country: and Stanislaus was elected.

About the year 1766, being the second of the new monarch's reign, the friendship subsisting between the king, Stanislaus, and the Czartorisky, began already to cool. The latter seemed to wish to exercise the sovereignty under his name, and complained that he abandoned himself to favourites. The French politeness of his manners formed a striking contrast with the rough simplicity of the prevailing habits of the Poles. The tolerant principles of the king were condemned in the sermons and pastoral letters of the clergy, because he had assented to the demands of Russia and Prussia, which, supported by Great Britain and Denmark, required that the dissidents (*dissenters*) consisting of Christians of the Protestant and Greek churches, should be re-established in their ancient and natural equality of rights. Those powers also demanded that the boundary between Russia and Poland, should be more accurately determined, and that Poland should form an alliance with Prussia. Under pretence of imparting a greater degree of order and consistency to the constitution, they proposed that only a majority of votes, instead of unanimity, should be requisite

at the elections ; that the revenues should be augmented by bestowing on the king some new duties, and a fourth part of the income of the Storosties ; and that these regulations, with respect to which the king was obliged to coincide with both the powers, should be executed by forty deputies, elected by a majority of votes.

All the great prelates, with the exception of the primate and two bishops, thirty senators, and one hundred and eighty county deputies, protested against these arrangements ; and the king, at length, renounced the new duties, contenting himself with an indemnification (*equivalent*) of two hundred thousand florins, which he also promised to expend exclusively among the nobles, in the establishment of a guard of honour. This project, by means of which it was proposed to attach the nobles to his interest, was decried as tyrannical and of dangerous consequences to the country. As the ferment continued to increase, two thousand eight hundred Russians were quartered on the estates of the bishop of Cracow : and one thousand five hundred on those of the bishop of Wilna ; while four thousand were encamped around Warsaw. Many of the senators, however, were not yet discouraged, but resolved, as they said, rather to die than sacrifice the republic to him who had been elected for the purpose of maintaining it. " Speak then," said the bishop of Moravia to the archbishop primate ; " Speak, wretch, for the religion by which thou art fattened, or retire into thy primitive (*original*) nothingness." The same prelate also thus addressed bishop Paaiskofsky : " Thy heart is capable of all manner of corruption—sell thyself, therefore, to the highest bidder." The popular indignation compelled the king to abandon all thoughts of introducing the proposed regulation. The dissidents were, indeed, allowed to exercise their religious duties in places where they already possessed churches ; but this was only on condition that those buildings should not be enlarged ; and the clergy of the Greek church were permitted the liberty of performing baptisms, marriages, and burials, on condition that the customary fees should be previously paid to their catholic brethren.

From this period, the parties entered into confederations ; in the first place at Slaek, in the vayvodeship of Novogorodek, situated in Black Russia, under major-

general Glabofsky ; and afterwards at Thorn, under lieutenant Goltz. The twenty-four confederations were formed in Lithuania, the professed object of which was resistance to the influence of foreign states ; but they were, probably, as much directed against the dissidents. Prince Radzyvil, who was at the head of these Lithuanian confederations, procured, in 1767, the assembling of an extraordinary diet (*meeting of the states*) at Cracow.

The first sittings of this assembly were so tumultuous that it was impossible to collect the votes, upon which the Russians entered the town, seized Soltyk, the zealous bishop of Cracow, the bishop of Kyow, the vayvode of Cracow, count Rzovusky, and several of the senators, all of whom were sent as prisoners into Russia. The terror which this measure inspired served only to increase the tumult ; and the diet separated, after having chosen sixty deputies, who were commissioned to treat with the Russian ambassador on the present state of affairs.

It was now agreed to grant the king one million five hundred thousand florins, and prince Radzyvil, to whom the republic owed three millions, six hundred thousand, as a first instalment in payment of his demand ; to intrust all business, which had hitherto been conducted by the pope's nuncio, to a synod to which his holiness should be pleased to give the permanent authority of a *legatus a latere* (*ambassador from the pope*) ; and faithfully to observe the alliance with Russia, according to the treaty concluded in the year 1686, and deposited in the archives of the country.

The partisans of this compromise were threatened by the nuncio with the anathema ; and the pope himself wrote to the king that he ought rather to abandon his crown than countenance such scandalous proceedings. But, notwithstanding this opposition, the compact was confirmed by the diet, the public taxes were fixed at twenty-three millions, and a treaty of guarantee was renewed with Russia.

The dissidents were detested as the party which had given occasion to the injuries inflicted on the independence of the country, and were subjected to all possible oppressions. A confederation was formed against them at Bar, under marshal Krazuisky ; one at Halriz, under Potocky ; and another at Lublin ; which latter place was,

on that account, set on fire by the Russian artillery. Civil war now arose in all its horrors ; the Russians increased their force to a degree which could not be a matter of indifference to the Turks, and conquered Bar ; seizing all the wealth of Podolia, Volhynia, and the Ukraine. Brazinsky and Potocky threw themselves into the Turkish fortress of Chotin. The terrors of this war of religion were augmented by the incessant incursions of the Haidamaks, who entered the country from the Russian viceroyalty of Elizabethgorod. On one occasion they burnt ten towns and one hundred and thirty villages ; and on another, three of the former and fifty of the latter. The Jews were every where committed to massacre and the flames, and the roads were covered with dead bodies, until, at length, neither man nor beast was to be found alive within sixty miles of the borders. The Russians, in the meantime, were besieging Cracow, where the confederates, for a long time, held out against famine and pestilence. Martin Ludomitzky, in the utmost extremity, made a sally in which he lost one half of his followers ; but he made good his retreat with the rest through the midst of the enemy. The Russians extended themselves over all the vayvodeships, in order that the confederates might be prevented from forming a union in any part. That party, however, brought reinforcements out of Turkey, and the detestation inspired by their wanton cruelties, exceeded the terror of their first revenge. In the year 1769, the king proclaimed them rebels ; and they declared his authority illegitimate. Thirteen contests took place in the course of one month, and the progress of the war was only arrested by the devastations of the pestilence. One hundred and fifty thousand men died within the space of a few weeks in Volhynia, the Ukraine, and Podolia. Kawiniok was abandoned by its garrison ; and all its inhabitants, together with the whole force of the confederates, crowded towards Great Poland.

READING XCVI.

THE CALAMITIES OF POLAND.—CONCLUDED.

WHILE the Russians favoured the dissidents, the court of Vienna appeared to incline to the cause of the confederates. It refused however to take part in these disturbances ; and even, in the beginning of the Turkish war occasioned by them, that court declared, that it would adhere to its neutrality ; and only placed troops in a few districts immediately bordering on Hungary. But when the confederation of Bar earnestly entreated the empress Maria Theresa not to take any advantage of the disasters of a people who had been compelled to take up arms for the liberty of their country, and for the religious rights of their forefathers, she declared publicly that she was willing to protect those communities only which were not foreign to her as queen of Hungary, from the evils of this dreadful period ; and gave verbal assurance that she was affected with the misfortunes of the confederates ; and that, although the situation of political affairs did not allow her to assist them with an armed force, they might nevertheless depend on her for all the favour it was in her power to show them.

This declaration was almost immediately succeeded by a movement of the Austrian army, which inspired the confederates with the most flattering hopes ; but on the other side, a body of Prussian troops approached the frontiers, as if to form a cordon (*chain of troops*) against the pestilence which was now raging in Poland. Frederic, after exacting tribute, transplanted, by force, twelve thousand families to people his colonies in the Mark and in Pomerania. He then proceeded to strike gold and silver coins, under the title of the king and republic of Poland, of far less than their nominal value ; and compelled all those from whom his subjects made purchases to take them in payment ; in short, the oppression and distress of Great Poland rose to such a height that thousands of the inhabitants fled towards the forests of Lithuania and the frontiers of Austria.

These proceedings at length opened the eyes of the confederates, and marshal Zuremba first offered his ser-

vices to king Stanislaus, in order to effect a union between the conflicting (*contending*) parties for the preservation of their common country ; but the king, in all probability, considered this proposal to be, already, too late.

At length, on the 26th of September, 1772, the ambassadors of Maria Theresa, of the empress and autocrat Catherine the Second, and of the king of Prussia, in the name of their respective courts, informed the king and republic of Poland, that the three powers, in order to prevent further bloodshed, and to restore peace to Poland, had agreed among themselves to insist upon their indisputable claims to some of the provinces of that country, and therefore demanded that a diet be held for the purpose of settling the new boundaries in concert with them.

This iniquitous scheme for the dismemberment of Poland is said to have originated in the mind of Frederic. Having added Silesia to the dominions which he inherited from his father, he professed to be greatly alarmed at the progress of the Russian arms, in wresting the province of Moldavia from the Turks. The emperor Joseph, of Austria, was equally apprehensive of danger, and therefore did not scruple to make advances to a prince with whom his mother (Maria Theresa) had long been at variance. He visited Frederic at Neiss, in Silesia, in 1769, and a confidential intercourse of sentiments took place between the monarchs. They pledged themselves to unite for the maintenance of the peace of Germany ; and it was hinted by the Prussian monarch, that if the czarina could not easily be brought to reason, a threefold partition of Poland might remove all difficulties. In the following year, the two crowned heads had another meeting ; and prince Kaunitz had also long conferences with the king, to whose interests he promised to attend. Prince Henry, soon after visiting St. Petersburg on pretence of amusement, disclosed the project to Catherine, by whom it was not disapproved. As, however, she still insisted on extravagant terms of peace, Maria Theresa and her son ordered military preparations ; and an armed party entering Poland, seized the lordship of Zips.

This invasion accelerated the adjustment (*arrangement*) of the treaty ; Frederic drew the outlines of a plan ; but Catherine, in the one proposed by her, demanded a far greater portion of the spoils than he was willing to allow,

and exacted new terms of alliance, more favourable to herself than to her royal confederate. These requisitions (*demands*) delayed the settlement, and the various parties were busily employed in making out, each, his own preferable right to the spoliation. The king of Prussia could go back for several centuries, and demonstrate, by treaties, that certain provinces of the Polish territory had belonged to his ancestors, the electors of Brandenburg. A treaty had been concluded in 1657, by which the Poles assigned (*made over*) the sum of four hundred thousand dollars on the security of the city of Elbing, to the elector of Brandenburg, who was to deliver them from the Swedish arms ; but the promise then made had never been fulfilled.

In satisfaction of these claims Frederic now desired to be put in possession of Pomerellia, the districts on the Netze, the vavvodeship of Marienburg, the bishopric of Ermeland, the district of Michelan, and the bishopric and vavvodeship of Culm. He agreed, it is true, to leave Poland in possession of Dantzic and Thorn, but insisted upon retaining the harbour of the former city, and of collecting the customs and duties paid to it ; alleging that Dantzic had only enjoyed by sufferance the use of that harbour, which was a monastic estate belonging to the abbey of Oliva, and had been made, by permission of that establishment, in the year 1647, because the Neufahrwasser was no longer capable of admitting ships.

All Polish Prussia, together with the district of the Netze, was therefore occupied ; by which act, the state of Prussia became a continuous territory from Glatz to Memel, and acquired the fertile districts of Culm, Elbing, and Marienburg. The king became master of the cathedral of Wermeland ; came into possession of an annual income of three hundred thousand dollars, and of the only mouths of the Vistula which yet remained navigable. All the inhabitants of these districts were compelled to take the oath of allegiance within fourteen days.

Austria alleging the transfers of two royal Polish fiefs of Zator and Auchwitz by Casimir, the second king of Poland to his cousin Mscislaw, duke of Teschen, in upper Silesia, which fiefs were, in the year 1289, transferred to Venceslaw, king of Bohemia, demanded as an equivalent two-thirds of Upper Poland, Pokulia, and some districts

of Podolia and Volhynia, containing, on the whole, about two hundred and fifty cities and large towns, fifty smaller places, six thousand three hundred villages, and two millions five hundred and eighty thousand inhabitants. So much for the conscience of Maria Theresa, and the pleas on which her claims were founded.

The empress of Russia took possession of an important part of the grand principality of Lithuania, and of the *vayvodeship* of Minsk, Vitensk and Mscilaf, with so little ceremony, that it did not even appear necessary to her to publish the grounds of her proceeding. She allowed the inhabitants three months to remove themselves.

The king and senate of Poland lamented this unhappy destiny of their country, attributed the origin of the party dissensions to the influence of foreigners, displayed the evidences of their rights, alleged the compacts and referred to the guarantee under which they had been concluded, appealed from the violence of the superior power and unjust arms of their enemies, and protested before the Almighty governor of the Universe against this crying oppression.

* The king of Prussia continued to raise the tolls collected in the harbour of Dantzic to an intolerable height, and the city was urged, by all possible means, to surrender itself voluntarily to his sway. He summoned a diet at Lissa, to counteract that of Warsaw, and confiscated the estates of all such nobles as refused to acknowledge their allegiance. The empress of Russia also took possession of the wealth of prince Charles Radzyvil, and of Constantine and Adam Czartorisky. When an offer of restoration was made to Radzyvil, he replied, "I am a free-born man; my ancestors were free; and, though in adversity, I will also die free." The countess Vielpolska died by her own hands; and all those who were worthy of their ancestors quitted their country, now subjected to a foreign yoke. But the complaints of the oppressed were not necessary to the judgment passed by all Europe on this transaction, a judgment which will be confirmed by the latest posterity.

The subjects of the republic were reduced from seven or eight to four millions, and its revenues were proportionally diminished. Instead of one hundred senators, only thirty-eight were assembled at the diet. The arch-

bishop primate, the grand chancellor of Lithuania, the grand marshal, and their friends, absented themselves from the servile assembly and repaired to Cracow. The diet, although surrounded by an armed force, began with a protest by all the deputies of Podolia and Volhynia. The consequence was, that the foreign soldiers were quartered by hundreds upon all those nobles who were attached to the cause of independence. Eight days were allowed to the diet to conform to the wishes of the allied powers ; and it was declared, that, in case of refusal, thirty thousand men should enter the city at the expiration of that period, and that their obstinacy should be subdued by all possible means. On the seventh day a great number of the deputies left the city, and the remainder subscribed to the terms by which Poland was compelled, not only to renounce all claim to, and all connexion with, the districts of which she had been deprived, but to engage to protect the three confederated powers in the possession of the countries they had seized.

The latter now established a permanent council, which was dependent on themselves, and could easily be influenced according to their pleasure. The king of Prussia declared, that if the republic did not place the council in actual existence on a certain day, he would consider its refusal or delay as a declaration of war ; and he, at the same time, demanded possession of a district on the Netze, not usually bounded by the river, but which was occasionally covered by its waters during extraordinary floods. The Austrian commissioners drew a line from the mouth of one river to another, and demanded all the districts comprised within the windings of the streams, as the shores of those rivers. Instances frequently occurred in which a district was usurped, without assigning any reason whatever. The permanent council was established : it consisted of forty senators and noblemen, nominated by the diet, who were to continue in office until the succeeding session of that assembly, and transact all military and foreign affairs, as well as the business of the high police ; it was empowered to expound (*explain*) the laws, but not to make them.

Prussia was, in some instances, obliged to abandon a part of the districts which it had seized ; but before these temporary possessions were relinquished, the flocks

were driven away, the forests cut down, the magazines emptied, even the most necessary implements taken away, and the taxes raised by anticipation (*before they were due*).

READING XCVII.

DEFEAT OF THE COUNT DE GRASSE BY ADMIRAL
RODNEY.

1782.

IN the spring of this year, the perilous situation of Jamaica excited great apprehensions ; for while the French were triumphant throughout the West Indian seas, the Spaniards were in great force at Cuba and Hispaniola ; and the fleets of the two nations, if united, would have exhibited the formidable number of sixty ships of the line, while their land forces would have composed a powerful army. Such was the state of things in that quarter, when admiral Rodney effected a junction with sir Samuel Hood's squadron, and receiving about the same time a reinforcement from England, his force consisted of thirty-six sail of the line. The objects of the hostile commanders were not less opposite than their interests. It was the business and design of the count de Grasse, the French admiral, to avoid fighting by all possible means, until he had formed a junction with the French and Spanish fleets at Hispaniola, when their combined force would have been so vastly superior, as to forbid every attempt on the side of England by sea to obstruct their designs during the campaign. On the other side, the salvation of the West Indies, with the whole fortune and hope of the war, depended upon the British commanders preventing the junction, or at least their bringing on a close and decisive engagement with the count de Grasse before it took place. Such were the stakes depending upon a shift of wind, upon other the most usual casualties of weather, and upon the numerous accidents and disappointments to which all naval movements and operations are peculiarly liable. Nothing could be more perilously critical.

The British fleet at St. Lucia amounted to thirty-six ships of the line. The force under M. de Grasse, at Martinique, only to thirty-four. We except from the latter account two ships of the line armed *en-flûte*, (*having the lower deck guns removed*) and two fifty-fours; the former not being in either engagement, and the last, if present, acting only as frigates. The French fleet seems to have been rather over-manned (though if it be an error, it is a general and national one), and besides a full complement of seamen, had nearly six thousand land forces on board. The *Ville de Paris*, of one hundred and ten guns, De Grasse's own ship, had not less than thirteen hundred men, including soldiers, on board; and the French seventy-fours carried nine hundred men each. Their metal is always heavier than that of the English, in equal rates; but several of their ships were only in indifferent condition. The English had five ninety-gun ships, which was their highest rate; and the French had eight of eighty and eighty-four guns each, besides the *Ville de Paris*, which was considered as the pride and bulwark of their fleet.

The van of the English was commanded by Sir Samuel Hood; the centre by Sir George Rodney, and the rear by Admiral Francis Drake. The ships were in good condition; and, perhaps, a set of more brave and able officers were never joined in the command of an equal number in any conflict. The three divisions of the French fleet were commanded by the Count de Grasse, M. de Vaudrevil and M. de Bougainville, who were all distinguished commanders.

The French fleet began to turn out of the harbour at Fort-Royal, by the break of day on the 8th of April, with a great convoy under their protection, all bound to leeward, and intending to fall down to the French or Spanish ports in Hispaniola. But as M. de Grasse had every reason for wishing to avoid any encounter on his passage, instead of pushing, as his course was, directly to leeward, which would have laid him open to the fair and unremitted chase of his pursuers, and which it would have been impossible to evade in an open sea, with so constant a wind, he thought it more advisable to keep close in under the islands, until he had eluded the pur-

suit. The adoption of this course seemed to promise many advantages. The French being better acquainted with the coasts, could keep much closer to the land than the English would dare to adventure, and keeping the convoy between him and the shore, he hoped to throw them off entirely to leeward. The several channels between the islands were likewise better known to the French; and these, with the great diversity of winds and passages which they afforded, seemed to hold out inexhaustible means of baffling the pursuit of an enemy.

The movements of the enemy, and their departure from that bay, were so speedily communicated by signals from frigates upon the watch, and the English fleet were in such excellent preparation, that the whole were clear of Gross-Islet Bay, by noon, and pursued them with the utmost expedition; so that the French gained only a few hours, by being masters of the time of departure. This unequalled diligence, and the general ardour, which, it might be said, added wings to the fleet, brought them within sight of the enemy, under Dominica, on that very night; and they afterwards regulated the pursuit by their signals.

So sudden a pressure could not have been expected by M. de Grasse. He, however, like a prepared and accomplished commander, immediately suited himself to the emergency, and though fighting was by no means his object, he formed the line of battle to windward betimes, in the morning, thereby affording an opportunity to his convoy to proceed on their course, whilst he stood to abide the consequences. On the other side, Sir George Rodney had thrown out signals soon after five in the morning to prepare for battle, to form the line at two cables' length distance asunder, and for the ships to fill and stand on. But the English fleet lay becalmed for a considerable time under the high lands of Dominica, while the enemy, who were farther advanced towards Guadaloupe, had wind enough to enable them to make the movements we have stated.

The breeze at length reached the van of the English fleet, and they began to close with the French centre, whilst their own centre and rear were still becalmed. It is said, that the Count de Grasse might still have avoided

an engagement ; but the temptation held out of falling with his whole weight upon and entirely crushing one-third of his enemy's force, whilst thus separated, was too strong to be well resisted.

READING XCVIII.

DEFEAT OF COUNT DE GRASSE BY ADMIRAL RODNEY.—
CONCLUDED.

THE action commenced about nine o'clock on the 9th of April. The attack was led by the Royal Oak, captain Burnet, and seconded by the Alfred and the Montague, with the most impetuous bravery. The whole division were in a few minutes closely engaged, and for more than an hour were exceedingly pressed by the great superiority of the enemy. The *Barfleur*, Sir Samuel Hood's own ship, had at one time seven, and generally three ships firing upon her ; and none of the division escaped the encounter of a very disproportionate force. Nothing could be more glorious than the firm and effective resistance with which, and without once shrinking, they sustained all the efforts of so great a superiority.

At length, and by degrees, the leading ships of the centre were enabled to come up to the assistance of the van. These were soon followed by Sir George Rodney in the *Formidable*, with his two seconds the *Namur* and *Duke*, all of ninety guns, who made and supported a most tremendous fire. The gallantry of a French captain of a seventy-four gun ship in the rear, who, opposite to Prince Rupert's Bay, having backed his main-top-sail, steadily received and bravely returned the fire of these three great ships in succession, without in the least flinching from his station, excited the highest applause and admiration of his enemies.

The coming up of the admiral, with a part of the centre division, rendered the fight less unequal ; and M. de Grasse, notwithstanding his still great superiority, finding that his

purpose had failed while the van was engaged singly, determined, by changing the nature of the action, to prevent its now becoming decisive. The command of the wind, and the connected state of his fleet, enabled him to execute this design, and to keep such a cautious distance during the remainder of the engagement, as was evidently intended to disable our ships as much as it could be done, without any considerable hazard on his own side. This sort of firing, which was extremely well supported on both sides, and produced as much effect as the distance would admit, was continued for an hour and three quarters longer; during all which time the rest of the fleet was held back by the calms and baffling winds under Dominica.

The mortification of the sixteen brave officers who commanded the ships in the rear, and who were doomed to be the spectators of so unequal a combat, without having it in their power to support their admiral and fellows, is much more easily to be conceived than described. About twelve o'clock, the remaining ships of the centre came up, and the rear was closing the line; upon which M. de Grasse withdrew his fleet from the action, and evaded all the efforts of the English commanders for its renewal. No sea battle could be better fought than this was on both sides, so far, at least, as it suited the views of the commander on one side to admit of close action; nor has a more tremendous cannonade been known between any equal number of ships. The French commander, notwithstanding his great superiority at all times, but particularly in his first action with the van, failed entirely in his object; and his ships received much more damage than their fire produced on the other side. Two of them were so much disabled that they were obliged to quit the fleet and put into Guadaloupe, by which his line was reduced to thirty-two ships; and the damage sustained by others, led to the subsequent action, and to all its decisive consequences. On our side, the Royal Oak and Montague suffered extremely, but were still capable of being so far repaired at sea as not to be under a necessity of quitting the fleet. Captain Bayne, of the Alfred, gallantly fell in this action,

The fleet lay to on the night of the 9th, to repair their

damages, and the following day was principally spent in refitting, in keeping the wind, and in transposing the rear and the van, the former of which not having been in the late action, was necessarily fitter for the active service of that division. Both fleets kept turning up to windward, in the channel which separates the islands of Dominica and Guadaloupe. It was constantly in the power of the enemy to come to action whenever they pleased, as they were always to windward; while it was impossible for the English admiral to force them, entangled as his fleet was between those islands and a little cluster of small ones, called the Saints, with the wind against him.

On the 11th the enemy had got so far to windward as to weather Guadaloupe, and had gained such a distance, that the body of their fleet could only be descried from the mast-heads of our centre. All hope of being able to come up with them now seemed at an end; and it was said to have become a question of deliberation on our side, whether to continue a chace which appeared to be hopeless, or at once to push to leeward, and endeavour to get before them at their rendezvous?

In this critical state of things, so highly interesting to both sides, two of the French ships, which had received damage in the late action, were perceived, about noon, to fall off considerably from the rest of their fleet to leeward. This welcome sight immediately produced signals for a general chace from the British admiral, and again renewed, throughout the fleet, the hope of coming up with the enemy. The pursuit was so vigorous, that the *Agamemnon*, and some others of the headmost of the British line, were coming up so fast with these ships, that they would have been assuredly cut off before evening, if their signals for assistance, and evident danger, had not induced M. de Grasse to bear down with his whole fleet to their assistance.

This spirited movement brought things precisely to that situation which our commanders had so ardently sought, and so little expected. It was now impossible for the enemy to avoid fighting; but the evening being too far advanced, that final decision was postponed till the morning. The pursuing ships fell back into their stations; a close line was immediately formed, and a most masterly disposition of the British fleet exhibited; while such

manœuvres were practised in the night as were necessary, at least, to preserve things in their present state, and might possibly produce casual advantages. * The wind generally hauled to the northwards towards evening in the West-India islands; and to make the most of this circumstance, our fleet stood to the southward until two in the morning, and then tacked with their heads to the northward. On the other side, the enemy being sensible that the die was now cast, prepared with the greatest resolution for battle, and only considered how to abide the issue with the best grace and countenance possible.

The scene of action may be considered as a moderately large basin of water, lying between the islands of Guadaloupe, Dominica, the Saints, and Marigalante; and bounded both to windward and leeward by very dangerous shores. The hostile fleets met upon opposite tacks. The battle commenced about seven o'clock in the morning, and was continued with unremitting fury until near the same hour in the evening. Admiral Drake, whose division led to action, gained the greatest applause and the highest honour, by the gallantry with which he received, and the effect with which he returned, the fire of the whole French line. His leading ship, the Marlborough, captain Penny, was peculiarly distinguished. She received and returned, at the nearest distances, the first fire of twenty-three French ships of war, and had the fortune only to have three men killed and sixteen wounded.

The signal for close fighting had from the first been thrown out, and was, without a single exception, punctually observed. The line was formed at only a cable's length distance. Our ships, as they came up, ranged slowly and closely along the enemy's line, and close under their lee, where they gave and received a most tremendous fire. They were so near that every shot took effect; and the French ships being so full of men, the carnage in them was prodigious. We may form some opinion of the havoc that was made, from the Formidable, Sir George Rodney's ship, firing near fourscore broadsides; and we may well believe that she was not singular. The French stood and returned this dreadful fire with the utmost gallantry; and both sides fought as if the fate and the honour of their respective countries were staked upon the issue of that single day.

About noon, or not long after, Sir George Rodney, in the *Formidable*, with his seconds, the *Namur* and *Duke*, and immediately supported by the *Canada*, bore directly, with full sail, athwart the enemy's line, and successfully broke through it, about three ships short of the centre, where M. de Grasse commanded in the *Ville de Paris*. Being followed and nobly supported by the ships a-stern of his division, he wore round upon his heel, and thus doubling upon the enemy, and closing up with their centre, completed the separation of their line, and threw them into inextricable confusion. This bold push decided the fortune of the day. The French, however, continued still to fight with the utmost bravery, and the battle lasted till sunset, which in those latitudes is almost immediately succeeded by darkness.

The instant that the admiral wore, after breaking through the enemy's line, he threw out a signal for the van to tack, and this being as immediately complied with by admiral Drake, our fleet thereby got to windward of the enemy, and completed the general confusion. The French van bore away to leeward, in an endeavour to reform their broken line, but this they were never able to accomplish; the dismay and disorder in that part of their line a-stern was irretrievable. Sir Samuel Hood's division had been long becalmed, and thereby kept out of action; the coming up now of his leading ships, and a part of his centre, as far at least as the *Barfleur*, which he commanded himself, served to render the victory more decisive on the one side, and the ruin greater on the other.

The broken state of the French fleet necessarily exposed, in some instances, a few ships to the attacks of a greater number; and the extent of the action, with the darkness and uncertainty occasioned by the smoke, afforded even opportunities, which might have been less expected, for single combat. The *Canada* of seventy-four guns, captain Cornwallis, took the French *Hector*, of the same force, single hand. Captain Inglefield, in the *Centaur* of seventy-four guns, came up from the rear, to the attack of the *César*, of seventy-four likewise. Both ships were yet fresh and unhurt, and a most gallant action took place; but though the French captain had evidently much the worst of the combat, he still dis-

dained to yield. Three other ships came up successively, and he bore to be torn almost to pieces by their fire. His courage was inflexible ; he is said to have nailed his colours to the mast, and his death only could put an end to the contest. When she struck, her mast went overboard, and she had not a foot of canvass without a shot hole. The *Glorieux* likewise fought nobly, and did not strike until her masts, bowsprit, and ensign were shot away. The English *Ardent*, of sixty-four guns, which had been taken by the enemy in the beginning of the war, near Plymouth, was now retaken, either by the *Bel-liqueux* or the *Bedford*. The *Diadem*, a French seventy-four gun ship, went down by a single broadside, which some accounts attribute to the *Formidable* ; it has also been said, that she was lost in a generous exertion to save her admiral.

M. de Grasse was nobly supported, even after the line was broken, and until the disorder and confusion became irremediable towards evening, by the ships that were near him. His two seconds, the *Languedoc* and *Couronne*, were particularly distinguished ; and the former narrowly escaped being taken in her last efforts to extricate the admiral. The *Ville de Paris*, after being already much battered, was closely laid along side by the *Canada* ; and, in a desperate action of nearly two hours, was reduced almost to a wreck. Captain Cornwallis was so intent in his design upon the French admiral, that without taking possession of the *Hector*, he left her to be picked up by a frigate, while he pushed on to the *Ville de Paris*. It seemed as if M. de Grasse was determined to sink rather than strike to anything under a flag ; but he likewise undoubtedly considered the fatal effects which the striking of his flag might produce on the rest of the fleet. Other ships came up in the heel of the action with the *Canada*, but he still held out. At length sir Samuel Hood came up in the *Barfleur*, just almost at sunset, and poured in a tremendous and destructive fire, which is said to have killed sixty men outright ; but M. de Grasse, wishing to signalize as much as possible the loss of so fine and so favourite a ship, endured the repetitions of this fire for about a quarter of an hour longer. He then struck his flag to the *Barfleur*, and surrendered himself to sir Samuel Hood. It was said, that at the

time the *Ville de Paris* struck, there were but three men left alive, and unhurt on the upper deck, and that the count de Grasse was one of the three.

Upon the whole, the sea has not often exhibited a more noble naval and military contest. The loss of men on the side of the enemy was prodigious. Three thousand are said to have perished every way, and double that number to have been wounded. The ships likewise suffered extremely, and the fleet in general was little less than ruined; while, on the other side, a squadron of British ships was fresh and fit for action at the close of the day. The loss of men in the British fleet was wonderfully small, considering the length and violence of the battle, the prodigiousness of the fire, the nearness of the combatants, and the obstinate bravery of the enemy. The whole number killed and wounded in the two actions of the 9th and 12th, amounted only to one thousand and fifty, of which two hundred and fifty-three were killed upon the spot.

READING XCIX.

SIEGE OF GIBRALTAR.

1782.

THROUGHOUT the annals of the art of war, whether ancient or modern, it will be impossible to find an example of a more magnificent scene of military operations than was exhibited this year at Gibraltar. The siege of this place had been commenced by the Spaniards, in the summer of 1779. In the spring of 1780, the siege was so far advanced, that vast works were constructed before it, filled with artillery, tremendous for number and power, and employed in a cannonade and bombardment which entirely destroyed the town, but did little damage to the fortifications. On the 13th March, the channel fleet, under admiral Darby, sailed for the relief of the fortress, and fortunately that officer completely succeeded in effecting his purpose. Although each

year of the siege had augmented the assailing force and the annoyance of the town and garrison, yet no real progress had been made towards the reduction of this formidable place. But it was now resolved to make trial of the utmost that skill and force could effect, in order to overcome the obstacles which both nature and art had lavished to render Gibraltar impregnable (*not to be taken.*) The aid of twelve thousand French troops was procured, and the duke de Crillon appointed captain-general.

No means were neglected, nor expense spared, to insure the success of this design. Spain found by experience, that all her attempts in the usual forms upon the place, whether by sea or by land, were totally ineffective; and that the cruel measure of destroying the town, odious as it was, went no farther than to the extermination of the inhabitants, without tending in the smallest degree to the reduction of the garrison. It sorely wounded her pride, that the utmost exertions of her power should, in the face of the world, be for so many years baffled, in the unavailing conflict of a vast and powerful empire with a handful of men shut up on a barren rock. The court was likewise greatly and particularly irritated, through the disgrace which attended the destruction of their works and batteries in the preceding year by the garrison. So that ambition, honour, pride, and revenge, were all concurrent, in urging to the utmost exertions of power and of skill, for the conquest of that place; and as all former exertions had failed, the invention and application of new means became a matter of necessity.

The chevalier d'Arcon, a French engineer, of high note, seemed to be the hero destined to the fall of Gibraltar. His plan was so highly approved of, that the king himself is said to have taken a part in its modification, or adjustment; hoping to have borne away a royal share of the honour in this instance, as well as in that of Minorca. The plan had been proposed in the latter part of the preceding year; the preparations, though vast, and exceedingly expensive, were now nearly completed; and the reduction of the place was not only deemed certain, but the powers to be used were so prodigious and terrible, that little less than the annihilation of the fortress was expected to be the consequence of any great obstinacy of defence in the garrison.

In the eagerness which prevailed at Madrid, for the carrying of this point, it had been proposed to bring a whole fleet to the direct battery and attack of the place, on all sides, by sea, while the army was to carry on a furious assault by land ; and the sacrifice of from ten to twenty ships of war, as the occasion might require, was decreed to be the contented price of success.

The French engineer ridiculed this scheme as wild and incompetent. He showed that it would be attended with the certain destruction of the ships, without producing the smallest effect upon the fortress. His plan went to the construction of floating batteries, or ships, upon such a principle, that they could neither be sunk nor fired. The first of these properties was to be acquired by the extraordinary thickness of timber, with which their keels and bottoms were to be fortified ; and which was to render them proof to all danger in that respect, whether from external or internal violence. The second danger was to be opposed, by securing the sides of the ships, wherever they were exposed to shot, with a strong wall, composed of timber and cork, a long time soaked in water, and including between, a large body of wet sand ; the whole being of such a thickness and density, that no cannon-ball could penetrate within two feet of the inner partition. A constant supply of water was to keep the parts exposed to the action of fire always wet ; and the cork was to act as a sponge, in retaining the moisture.

For this purpose, ten great ships, from six hundred to fourteen hundred tons burthen, (some of them said to be of fifty or sixty guns,) were cut down to the state required by the plan ; and two hundred thousand cubic feet of timber was, with infinite labour, worked into their construction. To protect them from bombs, and the men at the batteries from grape, or descending shot, a hanging roof was contrived, which was to be worked up and down by springs, with ease, and at pleasure ; the roof was composed of a strong rope-work netting, laid over with a thick covering of wet hides, while its sloping position was calculated to prevent the shells from lodging, and to throw them off into the sea before they could take effect. The batteries were covered with new brass cannon, of great weight ; and something about half the number of spare guns, of the same kind, were kept ready in each ship,

immediately to supply the place of those which might be over-heated, or otherwise disabled in action. To render the fire of these batteries the more rapid and instantaneous, and, consequently, the more dreadfully effective, the ingenious projector had contrived a kind of match, to be placed on the lights of the guns, of such a nature, as to emulate lightning in the quickness of its consumption, and the rapidity of its action ; and by which all the guns on the battery were to go off together, as it had been only a single shot.

But, as the red-hot shot from the fortress was what the enemy most dreaded, the nicest part of this plan seems to have been the contrivance for communicating water in every direction to restrain its effect. In imitation of the circulation of the blood in a living body, a great variety of pipes and canals perforated all the solid workmanship, in such a manner, that a continued succession of water was to be conveyed to every part of the vessels ; a number of pumps being adapted to the purpose of an unlimited supply. By this means, it was expected that the red-hot shot would operate to the remedy of its own mischief : as the very action of cutting through those pipes would procure its immediate extinction. So that these terrible machines, teeming with every source of outward destruction, seemed to be themselves invulnerable, and entirely secure from all danger.

The preparation in other respects was beyond all example. It was said, that no less than twelve hundred pieces of heavy ordnance of various kinds had been accumulated before the place, for the almost numberless intended purposes of attack by sea and land. The quantities of powder, shot, shells, and of every kind of military stores and provisions, were so immense as to exceed credibility. The quantity of gunpowder only was said to exceed eighty-three thousand barrels. Forty gunboats, with heavy artillery, as many bomb vessels with twelve-inch mortars, besides a large floating battery, and five bomb ketches, on the usual construction, were all destined to second the powerful efforts of the great battering ships. Nearly all the frigates, and smaller armed vessels of the kingdom were assembled ; to afford such aid as they might be capable of ; and three hundred large boats were collected from every part of Spain, which,

with the very great number already in the vicinity, were to minister to the fighting vessels during the action, and to land troops in the place, as soon as they had dismantled the fortress. The combined fleets of France and Spain, amounting to nearly about fifty ships of the line, were to cover and support the attack : and could not but greatly heighten the terrors as well as the magnificence of the scene.

The preparations by land kept pace with those by sea. Twelve thousand French troops were brought to diffuse their peculiar vivacity and animation through the Spanish army, as well as for the benefit to be derived from the example and exertion of their superior discipline and experience. The duke de Crillon was assisted by a number of the best officers of both countries, and particularly of the best engineers and artillerists of his own. The length and celebrity of the siege, now rendered more interesting by the fame of the present extraordinary preparations, had drawn volunteers from every part of Europe to the camp before Gibraltar ; and not only the nobility of Spain, but many of that of other countries were assembled, either to display their valour, or gratify their curiosity by beholding such a spectacle, as, it was probable, had never been before exhibited. The arrival of two princes of the royal blood of France, served to increase the splendour and celebrity of the scene. The count d'Artois, the French king's brother, and his cousin the duke de Bourbon, seemed eager to immortalize their names, by partaking in the glory of so signal and illustrious an enterprise, as the recovery of Gibraltar to the crown of their kinsman and ally.

READING C.

SIEGE OF GIBRALTAR.—CONTINUED.

THE arrival of the French princes afforded an opportunity for the display of that politeness, and the exercise of those humanized attentions and civilities, by which the refined manners of modern Europe have tended so

much to divest war of many parts of its ancient savage barbarity. Some packets, containing a number of letters directed to the officers in Gibraltar, having, on the way, fallen into the hands of the Spaniards, were, of course, transmitted to the court of Madrid, where they lay, at the time that the count d'Artois arrived at that capital. The French prince, in that spirit of generosity which distinguishes his family as well as his country, considering this circumstance as affording a pleasing opportunity of introduction to a brave and generous enemy, obtained the packets from the king, and condescended to convey them, under his own care, to the camp.

The transmission of the packets to Gibraltar, afforded an opportunity to the duke de Crillon of accompanying them with a letter to general Elliot, in which, besides informing him of the arrival of the French princes in his camp, and of this particular mark of attention shown by the count d'Artois, he farther acquainted him that he was charged by them, respectively, to convey to the general the strongest expressions of their regard and esteem for his person and character. The duke expressed his own regards for the general in the most flattering terms; eagerly wishing to merit his esteem, and declaring the pleasure with which he looked forward in the hope of becoming his friend, after he had learnt to render himself worthy the honour of facing him as an enemy. He likewise requested, in the most obliging terms, that he would accept of a present of fruit and vegetables, for his own use, which accompanied the letter, and of some ice and partridges for the gentlemen of his household; farther entreating, that as he knew the general lived entirely upon vegetables, he would acquaint him with the particular kinds which he liked best, with a view to his regular supply. The whole letter may be considered as a model of military politeness.

General Elliot was not, however, less polite or obliging in his answer, whether with respect to the duke himself, or to the princes. But he informed the duke that, in accepting the present, he had broken through a resolution which he had invariably adhered to from the commencement of the war, which was, never to receive, or to procure by any means whatever, any provisions or other commodities for his own private use: he declared, that

everything was sold publicly in the garrison, so that the private soldier, if he had money, might become a purchaser with the same facility as the governor; and that he made it a point of honour to partake of both plenty and scarcity, in common with the lowest of his brave fellow soldiers. He therefore entreated the duke not to heap any more favours of the same kind upon him, as he could not in future apply them to his own use.—An answer and conduct worthy of general Elliot, and of the brave garrison which he commanded.

The French princes arrived at the camp about the middle of August, and after examining the state of the preparations by land, reviewed the new and extraordinary machines contrived by the chevalier d'Arcon. They were accompanied on this occasion by all the principal commanders of both nations, whether in the land or naval service; and the battering ships, if the French and Spanish accounts are to be credited, notwithstanding their vast bulk and immense weight, not only gave the greatest satisfaction, but astonished even the most intelligent of the officers present, when they saw them go through their various evolutions with all the ease and dexterity of frigates. The confidence now placed in the dreadful and immediate effect to be produced by their action, went beyond all bounds. Twenty-four hours was a longer time than the public opinion would admit to be necessary, from the commencement of their attack, for the utter destruction of Gibraltar. Even the commanders held similar sentiments; and the duke de Crillon was thought extremely cautious of hazarding an opinion, when he allowed so long a term as fourteen days to the certainty of being in possession of the place.

In the meantime, unawed by the vast force with which he was, on every side, by sea and land, surrounded, general Elliot did not hesitate, by new and unexpected insult and damage, to provoke his combined enemies to the attack. For, observing that their works on the land side were nearly completed, and some of them pretty far advanced towards the fortress, he determined to try (though dubious of the effect of the distance) how far a vigorous cannonade and bombardment, with red-hot balls, carcasses, and shells, might operate to their destruction. A powerful and admirably directed firing commenced from

the garrison at seven o'clock in the morning of the 8th of September, and was supported through the day, with the usual unrivalled skill and dexterity of the artillery officers. The effect far exceeded the general's expectation. By ten o'clock the Mahon battery, with another adjoining to it, were in flames; and by five in the evening were entirely consumed, together with their gun-carriages, platforms, and magazines, although the latter were bomb proof. A great part of the communications to the eastern parallel, and of the trenches and parapet for musketry, was likewise destroyed, and a large battery near the bay so much damaged, having been repeatedly set on fire in several places, that the enemy were under a necessity of taking down one half of it. They acknowledged, that their works were on fire in fifty places at the same instant. The emulation between the nations, as well as the presence of the French princes, urged the troops to expose themselves exceedingly in their efforts to prevent the progress of the flames; so that their loss in men, under so dreadful and well-directed a fire, could not but have been very considerable.

* This fresh affront recalled the memory of the loss and disgrace suffered by the sally of the preceding year, and was resented so much by the allied commanders, that it seems to have contributed not a little to precipitate their measures. A new battery of sixty-four heavy cannon was opened by break of day on the following morning, which, with the cannon in their lines, and above sixty mortars, continued to pour their shot and shells, without intermission, upon the garrison, through the whole course of the day. At the same time, a squadron of seven Spanish and two French ships of the line, with some frigates and smaller vessels, taking the advantage of a favourable wind, dropped down from the Orange Grove, at the head of the bay, and passing slowly along the works, discharged their shot at the south bastion, and the ragged staff, continuing their cannonade until they had passed Europa Point, and got into the Mediterranean. They then formed a line to the eastward of the rock, and the admiral leading, came to the attack of the batteries on Europa Point, and, under a very slow sail, commenced a heavy fire with all their guns, which continued until they were entirely passed.

The small marine force at Gibraltar had, for some considerable time, been commanded by Captain Curtis, of the Brilliant frigate, who had been much distinguished in several spirited actions with the Spanish frigates and gun-boats, and had been particularly successful in rescuing the vessels that were coming in to the garrison, from their attacks in the bay. We have already seen that the seamen had held a distinguished part in the last sally; where, as they were attached to different garrison corps, this gentleman acted only as a volunteer. In the present season of danger, when the superiority of the enemy shut them up from exertion on their proper element, it was thought necessary not to lose their services in the immediate defence of the place by land. They were accordingly formed into a distinct corps, under the name of the marine brigade, and captain Curtis held the rank and title of brigadier, as their commander. To that officer, and his marine corps, was committed the defence of the works and batteries on Europa Point; a trust which they discharged so well, that having repeatedly struck the enemy in the first attack, they were afterwards glad to keep a more guarded distance; and two of the Spanish ships found it necessary to go to Algeziras to repair their damages.

The firing from the isthmus (*a neck of land*) was renewed, and continued the succeeding days; while the enemy boasted that it should be supported on the same scale until the reduction of the place; that being at the rate of six thousand five hundred cannon shot, and one thousand and eighty shells, in every twenty-four hours. The ships likewise made repeated attacks upon Europa Point, but the batteries were so excellently served, and the guns so well pointed, that they did not approach near enough to produce much effect. As if it had been hoped at once to confound and overwhelm the garrison, by the multitudinous forms and variety of attack, and the enormous quantity of fire poured upon them, the gun and mortar boats were now added to all the other instruments of vengeance, and renewed with great fierceness their assaults both by day and by night upon the works. Indeed the numerous volunteers and spectators had now an unusual opportunity of gratifying their curiosity, in beholding the operations of war diversified nearly into all the

forms which it is capable of exhibiting, whether by land or by sea, in the attack or defence of a fortress.

It seems scarcely less than astonishing that these numerous attacks, accompanied by so prodigious a weight of fire, in all its most destructive modes of action, should have produced very little effect, either with respect to the loss of men in the garrison, or to the damage done to the works. But the arduous day was now fast approaching, when courage, skill, and ingenuity, were to undergo their severest trial; and when all the united powers of gunpowder and artillery, in their highest state of discovery and improvement, were to be called into action.

The combined fleet of twenty-seven Spanish and twelve French ships of the line, was now arrived at Algeziras from Cadiz, and with those already on the spot amounted either to forty-eight or forty-nine sail of the line, besides two or three fifties. The battering ships were likewise in readiness. Their batteries were covered with one hundred and fifty-four pieces of heavy brass cannon; and they carried something less than half that number to be used as exchanges. The *Pastora*, the admiral's ship, had twenty-four guns mounted, and ten in reserve; the prince of Nassau's ship, the *Paula*, was about the same force, and held a similar proportion. Thirty-six artillery men, and volunteers from the two armies, were allotted to the service of each gun; and these being exclusive of the officers, and of the seamen who navigated the vessels, the whole number on board was estimated at between six and seven thousand men. The gun and mortar boats, with the floating battery and the bomb ketches, were to carry on their attacks in every possible direction, whilst the fire of the battering ships was directed against their destined objects. By this means, and by the fire of near three hundred cannon, mortars, and howitzers, from the isthmus, it was intended, that every part of the works being attacked at the same instant, and every quarter presenting a similar face of danger, the garrison should be thrown into irretrievable (*not to be repaired*) dismay, or at least that their attention being called away to so many services, the resistance must become generally ineffective, and totally unequal to the accumulated weight and force of the grand attack.

READING CI.

SIEGE OF GIBRALTAR.—CONCLUDED.

ABOUT seven o'clock on the morning of the 13th of September, 1782, the ten battering ships of the enemy, lying at the Puerta Maillova, near the head of the bay of Gibraltar, and under the conduct of admiral Don B. Moreno, were observed to be in motion ; and soon after getting under sail, to proceed to their stations for the attack of that fortress. Between nine and ten o'clock they came to an anchor, being moored in a line, at moderate distances, from the Old to the New Mole, lying parallel to the rock, and at about nine hundred yards distance. The greatest spirit was displayed through this whole evolution ; and it is acknowledged on our side, that nothing could be more masterly than the performance. The admiral's ship was stationed opposite the king's bastion ; and the others took their appointed places, successively, and with great regularity, to the right and left of the admiral. The surrounding hills were by this time covered with people, and it seemed as if all Spain had assembled to behold the spectacle.

The cannonade and bombardment, on all sides, and in all directions, from the isthmus, the sea, and the various works of the fortress, was not only tremendous, but beyond example. The prodigious showers of red-hot balls, of bombs, and of carcasses, which filled the air, and were, without intermission, thrown to every point of the various attacks, both by sea and by land from the garrison, astonished the commander of the allied forces, who could not conceive the possibility that general Elliot, straitened as he was within the narrow limits of a garrison, should have been by any means able to construct or to manage such a multitude of furnaces, as they deemed necessary to the heating of the infinite quantity of shot then thrown. The number of red-hot balls, which the battering ships only received in the course of the day, was estimated in their own accounts at not less than four thousand. Nor were the mortar batteries in the fortress worse supported ; and while the battering ships appeared to be the principal objects of vengeance, as they were

of apprehension to the garrison, the whole extent of the Peninsula seemed at the same time to be overwhelmed by the torrents of fire which were incessantly poured upon it.

As the violence of the attacks corresponded with the fury of the defence, and that the means and powers of annoyance and destruction were prodigious on both sides, no imagination could conceive a scene more terrible, than this day and the succeeding night exhibited. All description would fail, in attempting to convey adequate ideas of such a scene ; and the very actors in it could not be perfectly clear and distinct in their conceptions of what was passing, amidst the surrounding tumult and uproar.

The battering ships were found upon trial to be an enemy scarcely less formidable than had been represented. Besides maintaining a cannonade so prodigious through the greater part of the day as scarcely admitted any appearance of superiority on the side of the fortress, their construction was so admirably calculated for the purpose of withstanding the combined powers of fire and artillery, that, for several hours, the incessant showers of shells, and the hot shot, with which they were assailed, were not capable of making any visible impression upon them.

About two o'clock, however, some smoke was seen to issue from the upper part of the admiral's ship ; and, soon after, men were observed using fire-engines, and pouring water into the shot-holes. This fire, though kept under during the continuance of daylight, could never be thoroughly subdued ; and in some time the ship commanded by the prince of Nassau, which was next in size and force to the admiral's, was perceived to be in the same condition. The disorder in these two commanding ships in the centre, affected the whole line of attack ; and by the evening, the fire from the fortress had gained a decided superiority.

The fire was continued from the batteries in the fortress, with equal vigour, through the night ; and by one o'clock in the morning, the two first ships were in flames, and several more visibly on fire. The confusion was now great and apparent ; and the number of rockets continually thrown up from each of the ships, as signals to the fleet, was sufficiently expressive of their extreme distress

and danger. These signals were immediately answered, and all means used by the fleet to afford the assistance which they required ; but as it was deemed impossible to remove the battering ships, their endeavours were only directed to bringing off the men. A great number of boats were accordingly employed, and great intrepidity was displayed in the attempts for this purpose ; the danger from the burning vessels, filled as they were with instruments of destruction, appearing no less dreadful than the fire from the garrison, terrible as that was. The light thrown out on all sides by the flames, was such as afforded the utmost precision to the direction of the shot.

This state of things presented an opportunity for the exercise of the daring genius of captain Curtis, in using the exertions of his gun-boats, to complete the general confusion and destruction. These were twelve in number, and each carrying an eighteen or twenty-four pounder, their low fire and fixed aim were not a little formidable. They were speedily manned by the marine brigade, who were equally eager to second the designs of their adventurous commander, whether by land or by sea. He drew these up in such a manner as to flank the line of battering ships, which were now equally overwhelmed, by the incessant direct fire from the garrison, and by that just at hand, raking the whole extent of their line, from the gun-boats. The scene was wrought up by this fierce and unexpected attack to the highest point of calamity. The Spanish boats dared no longer to approach ; and were compelled to the hard necessity of abandoning their ships and friends to the flames, or to the mercy and humanity of a heated and irritated enemy. Several of their boats and launches had been sunk before they submitted to this necessity ; and one in particular with fourscore men on board, who were all drowned, excepting an officer and twelve men who, having the fortune to float on the wreck under the walls, were taken up by the garrison. The day-light now appearing, two Spanish feluccas, which had not escaped with the others, attempted to get out of the danger ; but a shot from a gun-boat having killed several men on board one of them, they were both glad to surrender.

It seemed, that nothing could have exceeded the horrors of the night ; but the opening of daylight disclosed

a spectacle still more dreadful. Numbers of men were seen in the midst of the flames, crying out for pity and help ; others floating upon pieces of timber, exposed to an equal, though less dreadful danger, from the opposite element. Even those in the ships where the fire had yet made a less progress, expressed in their looks, gestures, and words, the deepest distress and despair, and were no less urgent in imploring assistance.

The generous humanity of the victors now, at least, equalled their extraordinary preceding exertions of valour, and was to them far more glorious. Nor were the exertions of humanity by any means attended with less danger, nor with circumstances less terrible in the appearance, than those of active hostility. The honour and danger, however, in this instance, lay entirely with the marine brigade, and with their intrepid commander. The firing both from the garrison and gun-boats instantly ceased, upon the first appearance of the dismal spectacle presented by the morning light ; and every danger was encountered, in the endeavours to rescue the distressed enemy from surrounding destruction. In these efforts, the boats were equally exposed to the peril arising from the blowing up of the ships, as the fire reached their magazines, and to the continual discharge, on all sides, of the artillery, as the guns became to a certain degree heated. It was indeed a noble exertion ! and a more striking instance of the ardour and boldness with which it was supported, needs not to be given, than that of an officer and twenty-nine private men, all severely, and some most dreadfully wounded, who were dragged out from among the slain in the holds of the burning ships, and most of whom recovered in the hospital at Gibraltar.

In these extraordinary efforts to save an enemy from perishing, though the most astonishing intrepidity was shown by all the officers and men, yet their gallant commander was peculiarly distinguished ; and his life was repeatedly in the most imminent danger. Besides his being the first to rush on board the burning vessels, and to set the example of dragging with his own hands the terrified victims from the midst of the flames, his pin-nace being close to one of the largest ships when she blew up, the wreck was spread all round to a vast extent,

and every object being for a considerable time buried in a thick cloud of smoke, general Elliot and the garrison suffered the most poignant anguish and distress, considering the fate of their brave and generous friend, and of his bold companions, as inevitable. Indeed, their escape was little less than miraculous, though not quite complete ; for the cockswain and some of the crew were killed, others wounded ; and a large hole struck, by the falling timber, through the bottom of the pinnace ; which was only saved for the instant from going to the bottom, by the seamen stuffing the hole with their jackets, and by that means keeping her above water until other boats arrived to her assistance. Another gun-boat was sunk at the same instant, and a third so much damaged as to be with difficulty saved. Something near or about four hundred men were saved, by these exertions, from inevitable destruction ; and it may be truly said (and highly to the honour of our national character), that the exercise of humanity to an enemy, under such circumstances of immediate action and impending peril, was never yet displayed with greater lustre than upon this occasion.

It was highly fortunate that much the greater part of the troops and seamen on board the ships had been removed, before the effective and admirably directed attack made by captain Curtis with the gun-boats could have been attempted. Numbers, however, perished ; and it is supposed, at a very moderate estimate, that the enemy could not have lost less than fifteen hundred men, including the prisoners and wounded, in the attack by sea. Admiral Don Moreno, left his flag flying, when he abandoned his ship, in which state it continued, until it was consumed or blown up with the vessel. Eight more of the ships blew up successively, with dreadful explosions, in the course of the day. The tenth was burnt by the English, when they found she could not be brought off.

It does not appear that the Spanish gun and mortar-boats took any great share in this attack. They were intended to flank the English batteries, while they were attacked directly in front by the ships, and to throw their fire in such directions as it was thought, besides increasing the general confusion and disorder, would render it impossible for the men to stand to their guns. It seems probable that their spirit of adventure sunk, under the

dreadful fire from the garrison. The Spanish accounts only mention, that the rising of the wind, and a swell of the sea, prevented their producing the expected effect. Only two of the bomb ketches came forward ; but these continued to throw shells without intermission into the fortress, during the whole day and night of the attack. Nor did the fleet perform the services which were expected or threatened, by making attacks on all practicable parts of the fortress, and thereby causing, at least a diversion, in favour of the battering ships. This failure has been attributed to an unfavourable wind.

The loss sustained by the enemy, under the astonishing fire which the garrison continued to throw upon the isthmus during the whole time of attack, cannot be ascertained ; their own various and contradictory accounts being so evidently calculated to depreciate (*lessen*) their loss both by sea and land, that the list of killed and wounded officers and of prisoners, which could not be concealed, seems almost necessary to their acknowledging that any was sustained. A letter from a French officer, dated on the evening of the 8th, giving an account of the attack upon the works on that day by the garrison, which was published in the foreign gazettes, contains the following pathetic passage, which may afford some idea of the effect produced by a similar or greater fire on the 13th ; viz.—“The eye is fatigued, and the heart rent, with the sight and groans of the dying and wounded, whom the soldiers are this moment carrying away ; the number makes a man shudder ; and I am told, that in other parts of the lines, which are not within view of my post, the numbers are still greater. Fortunately for my feelings, I have not, at this instant, leisure to reflect much on the state and condition of mankind.”

The loss on the side of the garrison was less than could have been conceived, and was nearly confined to the artillery corps, and to the marine brigade. A few brave officers and men lost their lives, and a much greater number were wounded. From the 9th of August to the 17th of October, the whole number of non-commissioned officers and private men slain, amounted to sixty-five only ; but the wounded were no less than three hundred and eighty-eight. Of commissioned officers, twelve were in that time wounded, of whom a captain and a lieutenant

died. Nor was the damage done to the works so considerable as to afford any room for future apprehension ; or at all to hold any proportion with the violence of the attacks, and the excessive weight of fire they sustained.

Such was the signal and complete defensive victory obtained by a, comparatively, handful of brave men, over the combined efforts and united powers, by sea and by land, of two great, warlike, and potent nations, who, sparing no expense, labour, or exertion of art, for the attainment of a favourite object, exceeded all former example, as well in the magnitude, as in the formidable nature of their preparations,—a victory which has shed a signal blaze of glory over the whole garrison, but which cannot fail particularly to immortalize the name of general Elliot, and to hand down to posterity, with distinguished honour, those of lieutenant-general Boyd, and the other principal officers.

READING CII.

ASSASSINATION OF GUSTAVUS III., KING OF SWEDEN,
BY ANKARSTRÖM.

1792.

CATHERINE II., of Russia, had long marked, with an attentive eye, the progress of the French revolution ; and had stimulated Gustavus III., the king of Sweden, to take an open part against it. Gustavus, who possessed the most unbounded ardour for military glory, and felt a real commiseration for the fate of the unhappy Louis, entered with avidity into the scheme. Early in the summer of 1791, some plan of this description seems to have been devised between the two monarchs, but was postponed for further consideration, and probably from a hope of additional assistance during the remainder of the year. Spain, however, was said to have been considered as a party to the project. The following was the outline of the plan :—Gustavus, at the head of thirty-six thousand Swedes and Russians, was to have landed as near as possible to Paris, for the purpose of marching directly to that capital, and of thus creating a diversion, while the main armies of the other powers in alliance, penetrated

the French frontiers ; or, at least, with the design of seizing some important sea-port, and of waiting there the issue of a negotiation which was to be set on foot with the leaders of the French revolution. Besides the co-operation of her troops, Spain was expected to furnish, for the expenses of the expedition, a considerable sum of money.

But the acceptance of the constitution by the king of France, which occurred about this time, appeared to give a new turn to the affairs of that country. Spain began to recede from her original promises of assistance, and became principally studious of the preservation of peace.

In spite, however, of every obstacle, Gustavus persevered in his design ; but, before his intended departure from his kingdom, he convened (*called together*) a diet (*meeting of the states*), for the purpose of re-establishing a more perfect order in his finances, which had been deranged by the late war. The diet assembled, and after having proceeded in the business of its meeting, with the utmost tranquillity, passing many resolutions that strengthened the royal prerogative, peaceably terminated its sittings.

The moment for his embarking on his long projected enterprise seemed now fast approaching, and every domestic arrangement, previously to his departure, was finally adjusted, when an unexpected catastrophe (*fatal occurrence*) took place, which cut him off in the midst of his dreams of glory, and hurried him to an untimely grave. Among the order of the nobility he had many daring and inveterate enemies, who had become so in consequence of the recent revolution, which had deprived them of their power ; these secretly wished for an opportunity to revenge themselves on their too popular sovereign. The diet, which had lately met, by its firm and full adherence (*attachment*) to the royal cause, contributed to augment (*increase*) the hatred of his enemies, and rouse them to some immediate and desperate act of vengeance. A person named Ankarström, who was a gentleman by birth, and had been an officer in the guards, offered himself as a ready instrument for their bloody purpose. Exclusive of what he termed public motives for his conduct, this man professed to feel a private and personal resentment against the king, on account of a former prosecution for high treason.

The conspirators, among whom were some persons of high rank, formed several projects to effect this design, and made several attempts without success. Suspicions of some lurking treason began to be entertained ; reports of plots and conspiracies alarmed the public mind ; and the king was perpetually cautioned by his friends not to expose his person unnecessarily. To every request of this kind he unfortunately turned a deaf ear, remarking, " That were he to listen to every idle rumour of plots, he should be afraid of drinking even a glass of water."

On the 16th of March, while supping with some persons of his household, before he went to a masquerade at the opera-house, he received an anonymous (*without a name*) letter, which, although written in hostile language, advised him not to attend the masquerade that evening, as a conspiracy was formed for his assassination. Always confident and intrepid, he showed the letter to some of his friends then present, treated its contents with ridicule, and persisted, in spite of their earnest entreaties to the contrary, in his original intention of visiting the opera-house. He accordingly proceeded to the fatal spot, entering the room, arm-in-arm, with the baron de Essen, his master of the horse ; but had scarcely taken two or three turns there, before he suddenly found himself surrounded by a crowd, violently pressing upon him, and was shot by a person behind him in the left side. A cry of fire was instantly raised, and the confusion in the assembly became indescribable. Gustavus was not killed on the spot ; but, falling on a bench near him, immediately called out for all the doors to be shut, and every person to be unmasked. He was afterwards led into an adjoining apartment. On the floor of the room were found a pistol and dagger, or rather a knife of a peculiar construction (*make*), both of which the assassin was supposed to have dropped after the perpetration (*committing*) of the horrid deed. Every person, as he left the room, was compelled to unmask, and give in his name. Ankarström was the last person who left it ; yet he left it without being discovered. He afterwards confessed that he had intended to have despatched the king, after the discharge of the pistol, with his dagger ; but his hand trembling as he raised it, he involuntarily (*against his will*) dropped it on the floor.

On the following morning, the arms which had been found were submitted to public examination, and were recognised by a gunsmith and cutler of the city; the former deposing that he had repaired the identical pistol for captain Ankarstrøm, and the latter, that he had made the dagger, at the request of the same person. Upon these grounds, orders were issued for the immediate apprehension of Ankarstrøm, who, when the commander of the guards that were come to secure his person acquainted him with his errand, surrendered his person, acknowledged himself guilty, and expressed his regret at not having succeeded to kill the king on the spot;—to use his own words, “In liberating the world and his country from such a monster and tyrant.” This free avowal being reported to the then sitting regency, further orders were given for the immediate inquest (*inquiry*) into this affair, and for the trial of Ankarstrøm, who, with others likewise apprehended upon suspicion, grounded on the former’s confession, of being more or less concerned in this regicide (*murder of a king*), were brought before the high court of judicature (*justice*); which court, on proceeding to the examination of Ankarstrøm, received the following, and without the least compulsion (*force*), delivered confession, viz.—That he, Ankarstrøm and count Horn, after having conceived and established a kind of reciprocal (*mutual*) friendship and confidence, had to one another disclosed their minds and sentiments respecting the political situation of the kingdom, with which they were both discontented; and agreed that an assassination of the king was the only means and expedient for effecting a change in the present government:—That Ankarstrøm, prompted by personal revenge against the king, for an indictment of *crimen læsæ majestatis* (the crime of high treason,) carried on, on behalf of the crown, against him, and in consequence of which he, the last year, had been condemned to twenty years’ imprisonment, had offered himself to serve as an instrument for that purpose:—That after this, Horn and his associate conceived a plan for carrying off the king by force, during the night, when sleeping at his villa (*country-seat*) of Haga; but finding it too well guarded, and consequently too dangerous an enterprise, they entirely relinquished this scheme:—That count Ribbing, who, by his friend count Horn, was in-

formed not only of all that had preceded, but likewise of Ankarstrøm's intention to assassinate the king, acceded to this association, and fixed a meeting with these two persons at the estate of Horn, situated at a small distance from Stockholm, called Hufrudstadt, where they agreed and resolved as follows :—That the king should be assassinated by Ankarstrøm, either with pistols or a dagger, at an opportunity when the murderer could find means to hide himself in a great crowd ; and, for this reason, the play or the masquerade was chosen in preference to any other. Agreeably to this, Horn and Ankarstrøm went to the play the 16th of January, where they had taken places near the box of the king, in order that the murderer (who was provided with two loaded pistols) might find an easy opportunity to fire at the king when he came through the covered walk, which he generally did when going to the play ; and that Ankarstrøm, after having fired, might run down the back stairs and escape. But the king not going that evening through the above-mentioned walk to the play, Ankarstrøm found himself thwarted (*disappointed*) in his design ; he resolved, therefore, to avail himself of the opportunity of the next play, which was to be given two days after, but was this time, by the same event as before, frustrated in his attempt.

READING CIII.

ASSASSINATION OF GUSTAVUS III., KING OF SWEDEN,
BY ANKARSTRØM.—CONCLUDED.

1792.

BAFFLED in their sanguine expectations, the conspirators met again, and agreed to try the next opportunity, which was a masquerade, to be given the night between the 19th and 20th of January, where Ankarstrøm went ; but not finding a sufficient crowd of people there, he again deferred the execution of his criminal attempt. The following day Ankarstrøm and Ribbing set out for the diet at Gefle, where the former, intending to commit the murder, always carried a pair of loaded pistols about

him, in hopes to meet the king, as he frequently did, walking incognito. After the diet they returned to Stockholm, and it was again determined to make another trial on the 2d of March, when another masquerade was to be given ; but, by the same reasons as at the preceding, the assassin was prevented from the gratification of his purpose. A third masquerade, which was to have been given on the 9th, was put off till the 16th, on account of the rigour of the season during these days. Previously to the masquerade announced for the 16th, the conspirators assembled at the chateau of count Horn, where count Ribbing imparted to them, that Liljehorn, lieutenant-colonel in the army, and major in the king's guards, had been informed by him of the whole, and that he had promised that the regiment under his command, as well as the battalions of artillery then at Stockholm, and the regiment of the late queen-dowager, should assist, in case a revolution could be brought about:—that the count Ribbing also had imparted this secret to major-general Pechlin, who had likewise promised his assistance in bringing about the intended revolution after the king's death. For these reasons, and that of fear, in particular, that the secret now imparted (*communicated*) to so many might be betrayed, count Ribbing further urged the necessity of the king's speedy assassination, in which they all agreed. The next day they met at count Ribbing's lodgings, where they mentioned to one another the dresses each of them was to wear at the masquerade ; and Ribbing promised to engage as many as he could get there, for the sake of enlarging the crowd. Pechlin, whom they met afterwards, promised the same.

Every measure was now taken that the attempt should not fail. Ankarström, accompanied by Horn, went home to load his pistols (according to his own confession) with one round ball, one square ditto, eleven small shot, and seven nails. This being done, they both dressed and went together to the opera-house, the former armed with the above-mentioned pistols and dagger. The king had not then arrived, but entered the saloon some time after, holding his grand equerry, baron Essen, by the arm, and walked forwards to the middle of the theatre, where he stopped. Ankarström, observing when the king entered the room, slid between him and his company,

and followed him at a small distance, and as soon as the king had stopped, chose his station behind a scene, towards which the king turned his back, and discharged one of his pistols so near that the end of it touched the king's domino (*a masquerade dress*.) Having fired his pistol, and seeing that the monarch did not fall from the shot, Ankarström drew his dagger, in order to stab the king, but was seized with a kind of trembling, which made him drop not only the pistol but also the dagger on the ground, after which he walked away to conceal himself amongst the crowd, crying that a fire was broke out, in which he was joined by several voices. All now being performed, he sought for an opportunity to rid himself of the other pistol (the contents of which were intended for himself, but his courage failed him) without being perceived. In this he also succeeded before the general search came on; for as soon as the king was wounded, the doors were shut, so that nobody could get away, and every body was obliged to unmask and to be searched, and to write his name before he went out. Ankarström, after having undergone this ceremony, went quietly home, where he stayed the next morning, till he was taken into custody. After having, without any compunction (*remorse*) soever, confessed his crime; and being, by several convincing proofs, found guilty, he was condemned to the highest and most ignominious punishment of his country—that of standing on the pillory for three days in three different squares, and to be publicly flogged by the scavenger's servant in every square, and after that to be carried out of the town, to have his right hand cut off by the scavenger, and, lastly, to be beheaded by the common executioner, and his body divided into four parts, put upon wheels, to remain till it was destroyed—the right hand to be put upon one wheel by itself.

As to the other persons, more or less concerned in the above-mentioned regicide, their names were—Bjeliki, baron; Ehrensward, baron; Hartmanstorff, major in the artillery; Jacob Von Engestrom, counsellor of the chancery; his brother, Jean Von Engestrom; and several others of less note.

Baron Bjeliki took poison upon seeing the guards arrive to arrest him, and died a short time after: Horn

hanged himself when under arrest, and another poisoned himself.

Ankarström, on the first day of his standing in the pillory, harangued the people, and bore the whipping with great fortitude. The succeeding whippings affected him very much. The clergyman who attended him declared that he expressed the deepest contrition (*sorrow*) for the horrible crime he had committed, and felt the keenest pangs of remorse, imploring the pardon of the sovereign and of the state, and deprecating the vengeance of the Almighty, which he had so justly incurred by the violation of one of the most sacred laws of God and of man.

The wound which the king received was not immediately declared likely to prove fatal. Although his sufferings from it must have been excruciating in the extreme, he bore them with unexampled courage and resignation. He summoned his friends around him, and even those who from their opposition to his measures had been ranked among his enemies; the latter of whom he addressed with that true magnanimity for which he was so remarkably distinguished. "Now," said he to them, "am I indeed consoled for my misfortune, since it again brings round me my old friends." For several days together he endured the torment of his wound with the greatest apparent tranquillity, without the utterance of a groan or a murmur. The end, however, of his sufferings at length arrived. On the 28th a mortification evidently took place; and, on the following morning, sensible of his danger, he confessed himself, according to the usage of his church, to his high almoner, with a sincere but calm and unostentatious devotion; after which, he observed to him:—"I doubt whether, in the eyes of my Maker, I have any great merit, but, at least, I have the consolation to reflect that, wilfully, I never injured any person." Having performed this solemn act of religion, it was his desire to receive the sacraments, and take leave of his queen, who had not been admitted to him while his fate remained undecided. The better to enable his mind to support with dignity and fortitude the discharge of these important and affecting duties, he prepared to take some repose, when immediately, after having bid adieu to the noblemen in waiting, he expired.

Previously to his death, he settled the regency of the kingdom, during the minority of his son ; appointing his brother, the duke of Sudarmania, regent. To his brother he made it his dying request, that all the conspirators might be pardoned ; and was with difficulty persuaded even to except the assassin himself from this liberal but undeserved act of clemency.

Thus miserably perished, in the forty-sixth year of his age, the heroic Gustavus III. of Sweden. After having nobly braved death in all its most hideous forms, both by sea and land, in a novel species of warfare, peculiarly marked by ferocity and blood ; after having, by the most extraordinary exertions of courage and enterprise, though left alone and shamefully deserted by his allies, extorted (*forced*) a safe and honourable peace from his dangerous and superior enemy ; after having retrieved (*recovered*) and adorned with new glory, the ancient martial character and honour of his country ; after all these exploits, when returned home, crowned with laurels, and in the arms of peace, in the centre of his own capital, surrounded by his subjects, friends and courtiers, preparing, with a generous contempt of repeated warnings, to relax in those pleasures which he had well earned by his toils, he was destined to experience the hard fortune of falling by the vile hand of a traitorous assassin.

READING CIV.

FLIGHT OF LOUIS XVI. TO VARENNES, AND HIS RE-CAPTURE.

1792.

THE situation of Louis XVI. had long been such, that various plans were formed at different times, to extricate him from it ; but whether he was unwilling to place himself at the mercy of foreigners, or whether he dreaded the ascendant (*superiority*) which the count d'Artois, if he should return at the head of a victorious emigration, would take in the government which he would have established, he chose rather to restore the monarchy by his

own efforts. He had in the marquis de Bouillé, a partisan devoted and active, who equally condemned the emigration and the national assembly, and who promised him a refuge and support in his army. For some time a secret correspondence had been carried on between him and the king. Bouillé prepared everything for his reception. Under the pretext of a movement of the enemy's troops on the frontier, he established a camp at Montmédy; he placed detachments upon the route the king was to follow, to serve as his escort; and, as he must have a motive for these dispositions, he pretended that they were for protecting the military chest destined for the payment of the army. When the king had once resolved, he sought the means of execution. All the preparations for departure were made with the profoundest secrecy; few persons were acquainted with them, and no circumstance betrayed them. Louis XVI. and his queen, on the contrary, did everything to remove suspicion: and on the 20th of June, in the night, at the moment fixed for departure, they quitted the château, one by one, in disguise. They escaped the vigilance of the guards, and met each other upon the boulevards, where a carriage being waiting for them, they instantly started on the road to Châlons and Montmédy.

The king and his family continued their journey without stopping, until they safely arrived within the limits of M. Bouillé's command; when the very precautions taken by that officer for their security became their source of danger. Orders had been issued by him, under date of the 13th, 14th, and 15th of June, for different parties of hussars and dragoons to patrol at various places on the road from Paris, and escort two carriages which were said to be expected with treasure. The secret of the royal family being in the carriages, was entrusted to the commanding officers alone, and they were to communicate it to the men, whenever they should judge it expedient (*proper*). One party of hussars entered the little town of St. Menesbould on the evening of the 20th; and departing the next morning towards Paris, was succeeded by a detachment of dragoons. The appearance of these troops alarmed the inhabitants. In the evening, between the hours of seven and eight, two carriages changed horses, and passed on without exciting any suspicion of the per-

sonages who were in them ; but they were scarcely gone, when some circumstances in the conduct of the commanding officer, who spoke with marked familiarity to one of the couriers attending the carriages, made the postmaster M. Drouet, suspect some mystery ; and he, in consequence, thought it his duty to inform the municipality (*civil authorities*). While the magistrates were debating on the subject, an express from Marne increased their fears ; and they finally ordered M. Drouet, and another of the inhabitants named Guillaume, to follow and stop the carriages. At Clermont, the horses were ordered for Verdun, but the travellers turned off to Varennes, which was the more private road to Montmédy. Varennes not being a post town, a relay had been there provided for the king, but unluckily at the further end of the town, and the postilions did not choose to pass the house at the entrance without baiting (*refreshing*) their horses. The king being eager to proceed, his three attendants, and even himself, offered the men a purse of a hundred louis d'or to go on ; but the magnitude of the sum, which was meant to operate as a temptation, only gave an alarm ; a dispute ensued ; in the midst of which arrived M. Drouet and his companion. Their first care was to prevent the further progress of the carriages ; and opportunely for their purpose, they found near the town bridge, over which the road lay, a cart loaded with furniture ; this they overturned, so as completely to obstruct the way. Having secured this point, they called up the principal magistrates, the commandant of the national guards, and other persons in civil and military authority, who here, as at St. Menehould, had their suspicions excited by the mysterious movements of the troops during the two preceding days ; the king having been, in truth, expected by M. Bouillé one day sooner. The passport of the travellers was then demanded and produced. Some thought it sufficient ; others said it ought to have been signed by the president of the national assembly as well as by the king. Till it could be regularly examined at the town-hall, M. Sausse, the procureur (*common councilman*) of the commune, a tallow-chandler by trade, invited the travellers into his house. To avoid observation they accepted the offer. A loaf, some cheese, and a bottle of Burgundy were placed before them. Whether the king's

appetite was more easy to please from long abstinence (for since his departure from Paris he had taken no refreshment but a morsel of bread, and two or three glasses of champagne, which they had brought with them in the carriage) or whether he merely wished to ingratiate himself with his host, he pronounced the wine to be some of the best he had ever tasted.

He then entered into familiar conversation on the circumstances, office, and views of M. Sausse, the general state of the town, and the sentiments of the adjacent country. Upon hearing that the mayor was gone to the national assembly, he is said, for the first time, to have betrayed some emotion. He asked if there was any club (*political meeting*) at Varennes, and being told there was not, "So much the better," rejoined he, "these villainous clubs have ruined France." During the whole discourse the queen said very little: the king showed much restless expectation, and, after some time, inquired with impatience about the different ways of pursuing his journey. Meanwhile M. Sausse endeavoured to amuse and detain his guests, but occasionally leaving the room, under pretence of appeasing (*quieting*) the tumult at the door, or of giving orders to have the bridge cleared, sent the most pressing messages to the neighbouring districts for assistance.

A detachment of sixty hussars had been posted by M. Bouillé at Varennes, under the command of M. Rodwell, a lieutenant. This young man was not entrusted with the secret. He supposed only that he was to escort a military chest. In consequence he did not attempt to form (*draw up*) his huzzars, when the alarm was first given of some travellers having been stopped and detained; and the soldiers, mingling with the inhabitants of the town, caught the feelings and passions of the multitude. M. Raigecourt, and the youngest son of M. Bouillé, who had been sent that morning to provide for the king's safety, on hearing the tumult, hastened towards the house of the commandant, but found the street barricadoed. They had only time to mount their horses and rush through the armed crowds that opposed them to inform the general of the event. A second detachment of forty huzzars belonging to the same regiment, now arrived from Pont Sommeville, under the command of

M. Boudat, and with them M. Goglas and another officer of rank, both of whom had been long entrusted with the whole plan. They had been stationed at Pont Sommeville, for the purpose of giving such orders as might be necessary to the detachments at the different posts; and that they might have every thing in readiness, they were to be made acquainted with the approach of the royal family by a courier despatched before with intelligence. Some accident, however, having happened to one of the royal carriages near Châlons, after waiting two hours beyond the appointed time, they marched the troops back towards Montmédy, and endeavouring, by a cross road, to avoid St. Menehould, lost their way, so as not to arrive at Varennes till almost an hour after the king. At the entrance of the town, they were met by the national guards, with some cannon, and were obliged to dismount. M. Boudet then demanded to see the party of his regiment posted in the town. M. Rodwell came alone to him to receive his orders; and being told what was the quality of the travellers, was directed to do every thing for their defence and relief; instead of which, he set off to inform the general at Stenay, leaving the command of his men to one of the quarter-masters, who was very ill affected to the royal cause. Notwithstanding this loss of support from their comrades, the detachment from Pont Sommeville reached the house where the royal travellers were detained; and M. Goglas, addressing himself to M. Sausse, who still affected not to know the rank of his guests, desired admittance, which was granted. The king told him to remain quiet, refusing to owe his deliverance to force. M. Goglas then went out, and to try whether his men had been corrupted in his absence, asked them, if they were for the king or the nation? upon which they cried out unanimously (*with one mind*) "For the nation; for that we are, and ever will be." Immediately one of the national guards put himself at their head and was received as their commander.

At length when M. Sausse perceived that a sufficient force was collected to secure his guests against a rescue, and from all that had passed, no longer doubted of their quality, he resolved to inform them that they must return to Paris. After walking up and down the room two or three times with the king, he suddenly pointed to a pic-

ture, and said, "Sire, that is your picture." "Yes," cried Louis, finding all further concealment vain. "I am your king. Surrounded in the capital with daggers and bayonets, I am come to my faithful subjects of the provinces, in quest of that happiness and peace which every one of you enjoys. I and my family could not remain in Paris without danger of being murdered." He added many affecting entreaties and liberal promises; while the queen, taking the dauphin in her arms, adjured M. Sausse, in the most pathetic manner, to save the king and the future hope of the nation. The procureur, however remained inexorable (*not to be moved*), and even expressed himself with warmth. A man of the name of Chemin, sent from the magistrates of Clermont, now arrived, and insulted the king with some sharp and indecent remonstrances, but Louis only told him, he was an indiscreet man. Upon another (M. Nutal, formerly in the service of the prince of Condé,) who was beginning an impertinent harangue to him, he turned his back with contempt. At length he assumed a firm tone, and asserted his right of passing wherever he pleased within the kingdom; declaring that he meant only to go to Montmédy; and inviting the municipal (*town*) officers, with the national guards of Varennes, to accompany him thither. In answer, the decree, fixing his residence within twenty leagues of the national assembly, was shown to him. "No," said he, indignantly, "that decree I never sanctioned."

M. Robœuf, an aid-de-camp of M. La Fayette, arriving about this period with the orders of the national assembly, the king immediately knew him. "So then," he exclaimed, "M. La Fayette has made me his prisoner a second time, that he may establish his republic." He repeated the assurances which he had before given, of his not having had any intention to quit France; his destination, he insisted, was to Montmédy: he consented, however, to return.

READING CV.

FLIGHT OF LOUIS XVI. TO VARENNES, AND HIS
RE-CAPTURE.—CONCLUDED.

1792.

FROM the moment that the king had avowed himself, the alarm-bell had been ringing; national guards and armed peasants came flocking from all the neighbouring towns and villages. The morning was wasting, and some fresh detachments of cavalry appeared in the neighbourhood; one of which, advancing from the town of Dun, had in vain attempted to force a passage. The commanding officer, M. Deslong, then demanded leave to see the king, and to return unmolested. Being permitted, he asked the orders of his sovereign, and was answered, that he could give no orders, he was a prisoner. "I fear," continued Louis, "M. Bouillé can do me no service, but I know he will do whatever he can;" and being a second time asked for his orders, he repeated, "I am a prisoner; I can give no orders." After this interview, it was resolved immediately to hasten the king's departure; he was informed, about eight o'clock, that the carriages were ready to convey him and his family back to the capital. They submitted to their fortune; while, to leave them no doubt of their condition, the three gentlemen who had attended them in the habit of couriers, were placed on the coach-box, full in view, with their arms pinioned behind their backs. The escort perpetually increased as they passed along, so as to bid defiance to the detachments of cavalry. M. Bouillé himself, the moment that he heard of the arrest at Varennes, ordered out the royal German regiment under arms between four and five o'clock in the morning; but, from different circumstances, their march was delayed nearly an hour. Three miles beyond Stenay, the general commanded the troops to halt; told them what had happened; that the king intended to come to Montmédy, and had chosen them for his body guard; asked if they would follow him; and all cheerfully answering that they would, distributed among them four hundred louis d'or. When he drew near to Varennes, he met with M. Deslong, who related

to him his conversation with the king, and his subsequent miscarriage in trying to find a ford in the river. M. Bouillé, notwithstanding, endeavoured again, in different places, to pass the river, but without success. He saw no hope of succouring his sovereign. He perceived a force, much superior to his own, collecting from every quarter. He marched back his regiment, and, with his principal officers, fled from France.

The whole of that day at Paris was spent in listening to various reports, which were contradicted as fast as they were circulated, of the royal family having been stopped in their flight. The assembly, after despatching such common business as was before them, employed themselves in supplying whatever measures yet seemed to be wanting to the exigency of their situation. Particularly, they passed a new oath, to be taken by military men, omitting all mention of the king, and binding the army to defend the constitution against all enemies, domestic as well as foreign, and to obey no orders but those of the assembly. They also took into consideration the draught (*drawing up*) of an address to the French people, which had been prepared by the committee appointed to answer the royal declaration. It was not above one-third as long as the paper to which it was opposed. It omitted all notice of many principal facts, put in issue by the king, especially the insults and outrages for ever heaped upon him and his family; and it met his observations on the nature of the government, and the usurpation of all power by the committees of the assembly, and the popular societies, not with argument but rhetorical turns of sarcasm (*bitter reproach*) and sophistry (*false reasoning*), and, sometimes, with plain misrepresentation. What most deserved praise, and actually received it from Robespierre, was the care taken to impute nothing criminal directly to the person of the king, and even to introduce some conciliatory expressions of tenderness towards him. By a comparison of the cases, thus respectively on one side and the other, submitted to the world and posterity, the king and the nation must ultimately be judged.

After this address had been decreed, the assembly paused for an hour or two, when a cry resounded through the hall, "He is taken! he is taken!" M. Maugin, a surgeon of Varennes, appeared at the bar, with letters

from the magistrates of that town; from St. Menchould, and from the administration of the district of Clermont and of Marne. The assembly immediately named three commissioners—M. La Tour Maubourg, M. Barnave, and M. Petion; one from each of the principal parties that formed the majority. Their charge was to protect the royal family, and, especially, to show and maintain the respect due to the royal dignity; to which end they had full powers given them over the whole military force of France.

The next day the national guards of Paris filed through the hall, holding up their right hands, and swearing, as they passed, to the words of the new oath; after whom followed a long train of volunteers, from the lowest of the populace, in their ordinary dresses, some with muskets, and some with pikes, filling the air with republican cries, while the band of the national guard, seated in the body of the assembly, was playing revolutionary tunes. The barriers of Paris, which had just been shut, were now again thrown open, and travelling was once more free through all the interior of the kingdom, except within fifteen miles of the frontiers. A decree was also passed, which, after expressing much satisfaction at the tranquillity hitherto preserved in the capital, authorized the department, the municipality, and the commander-in-chief, to take whatever measures they might think fit for the safety of the royal person and family.

Four days were the king and his family on the road, exposed personally to all manner of insults, from the harangues of the magistrates, as they proceeded through every village, and from the cries of the armed multitude that surrounded the carriages. But they were doomed to witness a scene more afflicting to their senses than any words. The marquis Dampierre, learning that they were passing near his estate, mounted his horse, pierced through the crowd, approached the carriages, alighted, bowed, and respectfully kissed the hand of the captive sovereign, in which attitude he received in his body three musket balls, discharged at him from behind. He fell, and the king in vain stretched out to him the hand which he had just kissed; the wheels of the carriage went over him, and his last breath was uttered in a cry of loyalty.

When the three commissioners met the royal family near Epernay, the king seemed touched with the attention and respect expressed in the decree of the assembly. He made a short answer, and declared, as he did on every occasion, that he never meant to quit the kingdom. From that period till his arrival in the neighbourhood of Paris, the journey was a little more supportable; especially as from Dormans, where they slept that night, the commissioners, alarmed by increasing apprehensions of a rescue, quickened their motions, sent forward to have relays of horses ready, and took with them as a guard only such armed men as were on horseback. At Bondy, on the 25th, the Parisian guards took charge of their royal prisoners, and covered over with sweat and dust, breaking out into invectives (*abuse*) as ferocious as their countenances, they struck the three captives on the coach-box with so much terror that, having reason to fear the most refined barbarity of torture, these unfortunate men implored death as a favour. Some chosen grenadiers, however, marching on each side, so as to cover them, and the commissioners being placed so as to protect the king and queen with their own persons, all arrived at Paris in safety.

As they approached the capital, the multitude that flocked out to meet them retarded their progress. It was about seven in the evening when they entered the city. All the streets were lined with an immense concourse of spectators of all ages, all sexes, observing a profound silence, with their heads covered, having been forbidden by La Fayette, on pain of corporal punishment, to show any of the accustomed marks of respect. La Fayette himself rode before the king, commanding all to be covered. Behind the two carriages was seen an open chariot, adorned with laurels, in which the national guard, who first seized the royal family at Varennes, was drawn in triumph. When the king and the queen arrived at the Tuileries, and were going to alight, the populace (*mob*) there stationed burst into repeated shouts of "the law, the law." Instantly a tumult began around the royal carriages, and continued to thicken, till the horrible cries of blood reached the assembly, at that time deliberating on some indifferent subject; and commissioners were deputed, who happily succeeded in restoring tran-

quillity. The royal family entered their prison, and the iron gates were closed upon them.

Whatever could lead to any discovery was demanded from the king; the keys of his coach-seats, his pocket-books, everything: he was denied all communication with his wife, his sister, his children, and his servants, and confined under custody of the national guards, who had shown such evil dispositions towards him. Fifteen officers constantly watched in his apartment, and the door of his bed-chamber was left open during the night. The rest of the royal family were guarded in the same manner. All night long a sentinel took post in the arm-chair by the bedside of the queen, who dared not to undress herself; and at frequent intervals the commanding officer undrew the curtains to see that she was there. At every window of her apartment, on the terrace over which it looked, was placed a soldier, and two on the outside of a door which led towards the room where her son was confined. It is said, that among those who were appointed to this duty, she recollected one man to have been a principal actor in the horrible scenes at Versailles, in October, 1789, and that, applying to have him exchanged, she was refused that favour by M. La Fayette. But the most afflicting circumstance in the captivity of this unhappy family was the malignant art used to poison the mind of the dauphin against his royal parents, from whom he was separated. He was taught by his guards, in ridicule of his father's misfortunes, to play at the arrest of the king. The treatment of our Charles I. to the last moment of his life, though not to be praised, was much less reprehensible. When some of the soldiers, at the instigation of their officers, cried "Justice," the multitude blessed him. He had no sentinels in his chamber. Colonel Hacker used to knock submissively at his door, nor ventured, without being ordered from within, to enter; and colonel Tomlinson, in conducting him to the scaffold, walked by his side bareheaded.

READING CVI.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

IN taking a retrospective (*backward*) view of the manners of Europe, during the eighteenth century, the two nations which most arrest attention are Russia and France.

The efforts which Peter the Great made to polish the manners of his barbarous subjects are well known. The means, however, which he adopted, were frequently but ill adapted to attain his object: that this was the case, the following anecdote will prove. Having remarked, during his travels, that the female sex softened the manners and gave the tone to society among the civilized nations of Europe; and that the respect and deference shown to women in countries less enslaved than his own, were the origin and the scale of the urbanity (*politeness*) by which their inhabitants were more or less distinguished, he was desirous of having parties, assemblies, and circles, in which the women might, contrary to all former custom, take a prominent part. In order, however, the better to maintain the due observance of the laws of politeness and etiquette (*ceremony*), his despotic barbarity had conceived the idea of punishing any violation of them, by making the delinquent, of whichever sex, swallow a glass of brandy; the natural consequence of which was, that the interesting party frequently broke up in a state of beastly intoxication. But, notwithstanding, in proportion as Russia became politically and commercially connected with France, Germany, and England, the manners of those nations were gradually introduced among the subjects of the czar with beneficial effect.

While in the instance of Russia is seen a nation rising in the scale of politeness and civilization, it is lamentable to contemplate the change which took place in France about the same period, a change thus powerfully described by the eloquent Mr. Burke: "Manners are of more importance than laws. In a great measure, the laws depend upon them. The law touches us but here and there, but now and then. Manners are what vex or soothe, corrupt or purify, exalt or debase, barbarize or

refine us, by a constant, steady, uniform, insensible operation, like that of the air we breathe in. According to their quality they aid morals, they supply them, or they totally destroy them. Of this the new French legislators were aware; therefore, with the same method and under the same authority, they settled a system of manners the most licentious, prostitute, and abandoned; and, at the same time, the most coarse, rude, savage, and ferocious. Nothing in the revolution—no, not a phrase or a gesture, not to the fashion of a hat or a shoe, was left to accident. All was the result of design; all was matter of institution. No mechanical means could be devised in favour of this incredible system of wickedness and vice, that has not been employed. The noblest passions, the love of glory, the love of country, were debauched into means of its preservation and its propagation. All sorts of shows and exhibitions, calculated to inflame and vitiate the imagination, and pervert the moral sense, have been contrived. They have sometimes brought forth five or six hundred drunken women, calling at the bar of the assembly for the blood of their own children, as being royalists or constitutionalists. Sometimes they have got a body of wretches, calling themselves fathers, to demand the murder of their sons; boasting that Rome had but one Brutus, but that they could show five hundred. There were instances in which they inverted and retaliated the impiety, and produced sons who called for the execution of their parents.”

With respect to our own country, a reference to the pages of the “Spectator” will give the most correct view of the manners of the English during the reign of queen Anne; and as, fortunately, there is still taste enough remaining for that admirable work to be perused, it will be unnecessary to insist farther upon this topic.

That most bigoted and impolitic act of Louis XIV., the revocation of the edict of Nantz, caused immense numbers of French Protestants to seek an asylum in England, Holland, and other countries, where their religious principles might be enjoyed without molestation. They met with a hearty welcome in England, into which they introduced various manufactures, as of hats, silk, and linen: the importation of which articles from France was soon after prohibited. The culture of raw flax

was encouraged ; raw silk was imported from Italy and China ; beaver skins were procured from Hudson's-bay, where settlements had been formed, and where every description of furs was found in the greatest plenty and of the best quality.

From her colonies in North America England procured timber, masts, and yards, tobacco, rice, tar, pitch, and turpentine. The rich produce of the West Indian islands, all transported in ships belonging to the mother country, afforded employment to a great number of seamen ; while the call for clothing of all kinds, household furniture, tools, and even the luxuries of the table, from Britain and Ireland, promoted the most active intercourse, and produced reciprocal (*mutual*) prosperity.

The vast power of the East India Company having awakened the jealousy of the court, it became a matter of consideration with the government whether its territory should not, from prudential motives, be taken under the jurisdiction of the crown. The affair, however, was compromised, upon consideration of the company paying to the state the annual sum of £400,000. In 1784, the board of control was appointed. To give some idea of the progress of the trade, it will be sufficient to state, that the annual sale of tea, piece-goods, saltpetre, spices, drugs, and other articles imported from the East, which, for sixteen years prior to 1757, had scarcely exceeded the average of two millions sterling, amounted in 1805-6 to nine millions, the private trade being included.

In the year 1763 the balance of trade was highly favourable to this country ; for the importations only amounted, in official value, to £12,568,927, while the exports exceeded £15,578,900. In 1800 the former branch rose to thirty millions and a half, and the latter to forty-three millions.

The year 1744 was rendered remarkable by the return of commodore Anson from a voyage which had occupied no less time than three years and nine months, and in which he circumnavigated the globe. After undergoing innumerable hardships, privations, and dangers, and seeing many of his brave sailors perish by the scurvy, he took the Acapulco galleon, which contained treasure, goods, and different effects, to the value of £313,000. Having proceeded to Canton with this valuable prize, and

other costly spoils, he returned to England by the Cape of Good Hope.

Captain Phipps, afterwards lord Mulgrave, sailed, in 1773, to the northwards with the intention of discovering, if possible, either a north-east or north-west passage to India; his progress was, however, stopped when he reached $81\frac{1}{2}$ degrees north latitude, by immense icebergs and fields of ice.

Not less than four voyages round the world were undertaken during the reign of George III. between the years 1764 and 1771. The first by commodore Byron, the second by Wallis, the third by Cartaret, and the fourth by Cook.

In 1788 Charles Edward Stuart, more commonly known by the appellation of the Pretender, died at Rome. He was sixty-seven years of age, and was succeeded in his supposed claim by his brother, Cardinal York.

The French revolution broke out on the 14th of July, 1789.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST
OF
INVENTIONS, DISCOVERIES, &c.
During the Eighteenth Century.

- 1701.—Invention of the Reflecting Telescope by Sir Isaac Newton.
—— Discovery of Kamschatka by the Russians.
- 1704.—Newton's Discoveries respecting Colours.
—— St. Petersburg founded by Peter the Great.
- 1710.—St. Paul's rebuilt by Sir Christopher Wren.
- 1715.—The first Aurora Borealis observed.
- 1720.—Inoculation introduced into England from Constantinople.
- 1721.—First experiment of Inoculation made at London upon
Criminals.
- 1738.—Westminster Bridge begun to be built, and finished in 1750.
- 1740.—Admiral Anson navigates the World.
- 1743.—Solar Microscope invented by Lieberkuhn.
- 1751.—The New Style, or Gregorian Calendar, introduced into
England.
- 1758.—Establishment of the Royal Academy of Painting at London—President, Sir Joshua Reynolds.
- 1760.—Blackfriar's Bridge Built.
- 1762.—Expulsion of the Jesuits from France and most of the other
States of Europe.
- 1768.—Cook's first Voyage.
- 1769.—Bruce's Travels in Abyssinia to discover the source of the
Nile.
- 1770.—Lavoisier's Discovery of Elastic Fluids, or Gas.
- 1771.—Return of Captain Cook, in the Endeavour, after having
discovered the Isles of New Zealand, and a great part of
the Coast of New Holland.

- 1775.—The sexual system of Plants discovered by Linnaeus.
- 1781.—Discovery of the Planet Uranus, or Georgium Sidus, by Herschel.
- Discovery of two new Satellites of Saturn, and his Ring ascertained. *
- Discovery of the Planet Ceres by Piazzi.
- 1782.—Discovery of the Planet Pallas by Olbers.
- 1783.—Invention of Balloons by the Montgolfiers.
- The Pelew Isles discovered by Captain Wilson.
- 1784.—First Balloon Ascension in England by Lunardi.
- Animal Magnetism invented by Mesmer
- 1790.—Telegraphs invented by C. Chappe.
- 1795.—Discovery of the Libration of the Moon by La Grange.
- 1797.—Stereotype Printing invented by Firmin Didot.
- 1798.—Discovery of Galvanism by Galvani.
- 1799.—The first Panorama painted in France by Robert Fulton.

Table of Contemporary Sovereigns in the Nineteenth Century from 1801, and ending at the Accession of 1837.

A.D.	GT. BRITAIN.	FRANCE.	HOLLAND.	GERMANY.	ROME.	SPAIN.	PT.	RUSSIA.	DENMARK.	SWEDEN.	PRUSSIA.	POLAND.	HANOVER.
1801	George III.	Republic.	Republic.	Francis II.	Pius VII.	Charles IV.	III.	Alexander	Christian VII	Gustavus IV.	William III.	3d Partition.	.....
1804	.....	Napoleon Emperot.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1806	.....	.....	Louis Napoleon.	Austria. Francis I.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1808	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Ferdinand VII. Joseph Napoleon.	null.	.....	Frederick VI	.....	.....	.....	.....
1809	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Charles XIII	.....	.....	.....
1811	Regency.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1813	.....	.....	Incorporated with the French Empire.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1814	.....	Louis XVIII.	.....	.....	.....	Ferdinand VII.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1815	.....	.....	William Frederic.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Alexander.	.....
1818	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Charles John XIV.	.....	.....	.....
1820	George IV.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1821	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1823	.....	.....	.....	.....	Leo XII.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1824	.....	Charles X.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	George.
1825	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Nicholas I.	.....	.....	.....	Nicholas.	.....
1826	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1828	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1830	.....	Louis Phillippe.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1831	William IV.	.....	Ne- Belgi- ther lands. um.	William Fre- derick	Leo- pold.	Gregory XVI	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1832	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Isabella II.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1835	.....	.....	.....	Ferdinand I.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1837	Victoria.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Ernest Augustus.	.....

READING CVII.

GENERAL VIEW OF EUROPE AT THE COMMENCEMENT
OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

THE commencement of the nineteenth century found almost all the hereditary thrones of Europe shaken to their foundations by the consequences of the French revolution.

France, after shedding upon the scaffold the blood of the mild and amiable Louis XVI., and after undergoing all the multiplied horrors of the wildest anarchy (*want of government*), at length settled for a short time in a republic ; the consular power being vested in three persons, Buonaparte, Sieyes, and Ducos ; of whom the first was nominated chief consul for ten years. A still more extraordinary event soon after took place, for in 1804, by a decree of the tribunate and of the senate, Napoleon Buonaparte was constituted emperor of the French, and the supreme dignity declared to be hereditary in his male descendants.

In England, a proclamation was issued at the commencement of this century, declaring it to be the pleasure of his Majesty, that in future the royal style, titles, and armorial ensigns of the imperial crown of Great Britain and Ireland, should be as follows :—" *Georgius Tertius, Dei Gratia, Britanniarum Rex, Fidei Defensor.*" George the Third, by the grace of God, of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, king, defender of the faith."

A proposal for the re-establishment of peace was made at the beginning of the year 1800, in a letter from the chief consul of France to the king of Great Britain. The overture, however, was rejected by the English ministry, as they did not imagine that sufficient security for the adherence to treaties could be afforded by a government so recently established. The papers relative to this proposal being laid before parliament, the conduct of ministers was approved of by no less majorities than seventy-nine to six in the upper, and two hundred and sixty to sixty in the lower house of parliament. But the financial concerns of the kingdom were in

a most alarming state, there being a monstrous increase in the expenditure, the supplies necessary to meet the exigencies (*wants*) of the state being not less than £39,500,000, independent of a loan of £18,500,000. In this year also was completed the union of Great Britain and Ireland, the act of union having received the royal assent upon the 2d of July.

In Italy, Buonaparte crossed the Alps on the 6th of May, and entered Milan and Pavia, and on the 16th of the ensuing month, fought the famous battle of Marengo. The consequence of this victory was an armistice granted to the Austrians, upon condition of a number of strong towns being put into the hands of the French, amongst which was Genoa.

The French arms were equally successful in Germany, where general Moreau, after crossing the Rhine, at the latter end of April, and advancing to Ulm, drove the Austrians from their entrenched camp. Serious apprehensions were entertained for the safety of Vienna, when the victorious general penetrated into Bavaria, and took possession of Munich. This success of the French arms induced the Austrians to solicit an armistice. But although this was acceded to by Moreau, and the preliminaries of peace were signed on the 28th of July, the new engagements entered into by the emperor with England prevented him from ratifying (*confirming*) the preliminaries, and the war began again in November. A battle (the famous one of Hohenlinden), was fought on the 3d of December, which, although hardly contested, terminated in the entire defeat of the Austrians. Another armistice proposed by the archduke Charles, the Austrian commander-in-chief, was now agreed upon, and was finally confirmed by the emperor.

The czar, Paul I., disappointed in his hope of obtaining Malta, expressed his dissatisfaction against this country by laying an embargo (*a prohibition to sail*) upon all British ships in his ports, and even sending their captains and crews as prisoners up the country; declaring, that the embargo as well as the sequestration (*forfeiture*) of British property should not be taken off until Russia was again in possession of Malta.

Buonaparte upon quitting Egypt, for the purpose of forwarding his ambitious views in France, had invested

general Kleber with the chief command. This officer finding his army so much reduced as to be incompetent to keep possession of Egypt, entered into and concluded a treaty for the evacuation of that country.

Anxious, however, to prevent the French armies during their war with Austria, from having so considerable a reinforcement, the English minister refused to ratify the convention. Hostilities were again renewed, but after defeating the Turks with great loss, and suppressing a formidable insurrection at Cairo, the French general lost his life in the midst of his victories, by the knife of an Arabian fanatic. General Menou was appointed his successor.

A conclave (*meeting at which the pope is elected*), for the election of a new pope, being held at Venice, under the auspices (*protection*) of the emperor of Germany, cardinal Chiramonti was chosen on the 11th of March. Having taken the name of Pius VII., he was, in July, allowed to take possession of Rome, together with the greatest part of the dominions of the church.

READING CVIII.

CONFLAGRATION OF MOSCOW.

1812.

ON the 19th of November, 1804, Buonaparte, the favoured child of the revolution, was crowned emperor of France in the cathedral of Notre Dame, at Paris, by the pope, who had been compelled to cross the Alps for that purpose.

In 1809 commenced the Peninsular war, in which the duke of Wellington gained immortal honour, and the British army maintained the high character which they had acquired by former victories. In 1810 occurred the marriage of Napoleon with the archduchess Maria Louisa, daughter of the emperor of Austria. In 1812, upon the refusal of Russia to concur (*join*) in his favourite scheme of excluding the British commerce from the whole European continent, Napoleon resolved to march against

that empire, with all the disposable force of his dominions, and that of every state under his influence.

About the end of June, the French emperor entered the Russian territories at the head of at least three hundred thousand men. The plan of the Russians being to retreat, no determined stand was made till he arrived before the city of Smolensko. An action was there fought on the 17th of August. After another most sanguinary battle, near the village of Mowska, near Moscow, the Russians again retreated.

Napoleon, impatient to get possession of the ancient capital of the Russian empire, pursued the enemy with his accustomed vigour, on the high road of Smolensko, while prince Poniatowski, at the head of the fifth corps, marched on the right, by way of Kaluga. The viceroy, commanding the fourth corps, continued on the left flank, and by the road of Zwenighorod, marched to Moscow, where the whole army was to assemble.

"We could judge," says our narrator, "of the consternation that reigned in this capital, by the terror with which we inspired the country people. Our arrival in Rouza (9th of September,) and the unmerciful manner in which we had treated the inhabitants, were no sooner known, than all the villages situated on the road to Moscow were instantly abandoned. Desolation was spread everywhere; and many of those who fled, in a fit of despair, burnt their houses, chateaus, grain, and forage, which was scarcely gathered in. All these unhappy beings, terrified by the fatal and useless resistance of the inhabitants of Rouza, threw down the pikes with which they had been armed, in order to facilitate their escape to the thick forests at a distance from the road, where they hid themselves with their wives and children.

"On approaching Moscow, we had entertained the hope that the attachment of property, so natural to the inhabitants of large towns, would have induced the country people not to quit their habitations. But the grounds about Moscow do not belong to the citizens of this large town; they are the property of the lords who had declared against us, and their peasants, equally submissive as the slaves of the Nieper and of the Volga, obeyed the orders of their masters. They had been enjoined, on pain of death, to fly on our approach, and to hide in the woods whatever might be of use to us.

"We perceived the execution of this fatal measure on entering the village of Apalchtchouina. The houses were deserted, the castle abandoned, the furniture dashed to pieces, and the provisions wasted. Every thing presented an image of the most frightful desolation. All these ravages showed us what excesses people can commit, when sufficiently magnanimous to prefer independence to riches.

"Near Karinskoë, a village half way to Zwenighorod, where we had to go, the Cossacks appeared. According to their custom, they made no stand against our advanced guard, but contented themselves with observing us on our left, by marching on an eminence parallel to the high road. On the summit of this height, thickly set with birch, rose the grey walls and the steeples of an ancient abbey. At the foot of the hill stood the little town of Zwenighorod, built on the banks of the Moskwa. On this point the Cossacks formed themselves into several bodies, and skirmished for some time with our light troops. Insensibly they were dislodged from their ambuscades, and we took post around Zwenighorod.

"The following morning (September 14th), desirous of getting to Moscow, we set off very early, and only met with deserted villages. There were some magnificent castles, situated on the shores of the Moskwa, on our right; but the Cossacks took care to pillage them, in order to deprive us of the only comforts those spots could afford us. The corn, ready for harvest, had either been trodden down, or eaten by the horses. The hay-stacks, which covered the country, were sacrificed to the flames, spreading all around an impenetrable smoke. When we at last reached the village of Tscherepkova, our cavalry still marching, the viceroy went on an eminence on our right, to ascertain if Moscow could be seen, this being the object of all our wishes; for we considered it as the end of our fatigues, and the term of our expedition. Several hills hiding it still from our view, we perceived nothing but clouds of dust, which from being parallel with our road, indicated the march which the grand army had taken. A few cannon-shots, fired at a distance, and with long intervals, made us think that our troops were approaching Moscow, without experiencing much resistance.

“ When we descended from that eminence, we heard dreadful cries. A troop of Cossacks, issuing from a neighbouring wood, had in their accustomed manner charged upon our chasseurs, endeavouring to stop the march of our van guard. But our brave fellows, far from being intimidated by this unexpected attack, met courageously those vain efforts by which a powerless horde tried to impede our entrance into the capital. These were the last struggles of a desperate courage, and the Russians, beaten and dispersed, were obliged to fly towards the Kremlin, as they had before done on the shores of the Kologha.

“ We distinguished, at a distance, and amidst the dust, long columns of Russian cavalry, all marching towards Moscow, but all retiring behind the town, the nearer we approached it. Whilst the fourth corps were constructing a bridge to cross the Moskwa, the staff went about two o'clock on a high hill, from whence we perceived a thousand round and gilded steeples, which, the rays of the sun shining on them, appeared at the distance as so many flaming globes. There was indeed a globe placed on the summit of a pillar, or an obelisk, which had quite the appearance of a balloon, suspended in the air. We felt the greatest delight at this beautiful sight, which was the more amusing to us, from the contrast it formed to the dismal objects which we had hitherto seen. Nor could any of us suppress our joy ; and, actuated by a spontaneous feeling, we all exclaimed, *Moscow ! Moscow !* At the sound of this wished-for name, crowds ran up the hill, discovering every instant new wonders. Some admired a magnificent castle on our left, which was built in an elegant oriental style ; others directed their attention towards a palace or a temple ; but all were equally struck with the greatness of the picture which this immense town presented to us. It is situated in the middle of a fertile plain ; the Moskwa is seen running through rich meadows, and after having fertilized the fields, it takes its course through the middle of the town, separating an immense cluster of houses, built of wood, stone, and bricks, partly constructed in a gothic, and partly in a modern style, uniting the different species of architecture peculiar to each nation. The walls variously painted, and the domes covered with lead, gildings, and slates, presented the most pleasing

variety ; whilst the terraces before the palaces, the obelisks over the town-gates, but, above all, the steeples, presented to our eyes the reality of one of those celebrated towns in Asia, which till now had appeared to us to exist only in the imagination of the Arabian poets.

“ On a nearer approach to this city, we saw that it had no walls, and that a simple parapet of earth was the only work which constituted the outer enclosure. Till now nothing indicated that the town was inhabited ; and the side on which we arrived was so lonely, that we saw neither Russian nor even French soldiers. No cry, no noise was heard in the midst of this awful solitude ; anxiety alone conducted our steps, and it doubly increased when we perceived a thick smoke, which in the form of a column, arose in the centre of the town. It was at first believed that the Russians, agreeably to their custom, had, in retreating, set fire to some magazines. Greatly interested to know the cause of this fire, we in vain endeavoured to find somebody who could quiet our anxious curiosity, and the impossibility to satisfy it, by increasing our impatience, augmented our alarm.

“ We did not enter at the first barrier that presented itself, but, moving to the left, we continued to march round the town. At length, according to the orders of the viceroy, I put the troops of the fourth corps in position, to guard the high road to Petersburg. Thus the thirteenth and fifteenth divisions, encamped around the chateau of Peterskoë, the fourteenth established itself in the village between Moscow and this *chateau*, and the Bavarian light cavalry were a league in front of this village.

“ When these positions were taken, the viceroy entered Moscow, and took his lodgings in the palace of prince Momonoff, in the fine street of St. Petersburg. This quarter, assigned to our corps, was one of the finest in the town. It was composed entirely of superb edifices, and of houses which, although of wood, appeared to us to be of surprising grandeur and riches. The magistrates having abandoned the town, their palaces were open to every body : thus the subaltern officer was lodged in vast apartments, richly decorated, and of which he could fancy himself to be the master, since nobody appeared but an humble and submissive porter, who, with a trembling hand, delivered to him the keys of the house.

READING CIX.

CONFLAGRATION OF MOSCOW.—CONCLUDED.

“ALTHOUGH Moscow had been entered by some of our troops the preceding day, so extensive and so deserted was the town, that no soldier had yet penetrated into the quarter which we were to occupy. The most intrepid minds were moved by this loneliness ; the streets were so long that from one extremity to the other, our horsemen could not recognise one another. They were seen advancing with caution ; then struck with fear, took to flight, though they were all fighting under the same banners. In proportion as a new quarter of the town was taken possession of, reconnoitring parties went on to search the palaces and the churches. In the first were only found old men, children, and Russian officers, who had been wounded in the preceding battles ; in the latter, the altars were decorated as if for a festival ; a thousand lighted tapers, burning in honour to the saint protector of the country, attested that the pious Moscovites had not ceased to invoke him till the moment of their departure. This solemn and religious display contributed to make powerful and respectable a people whom we had conquered, and filled us with that terror which is the offspring of injustice. With cautious steps we proceeded in the midst of this awful solitude, often stopping to look behind us. And sometimes, struck with fear, we listened with the greatest attention ; for the imagination, frightened at the magnitude of our conquest, made us apprehensive of snares in every place. At the least noise our troubled minds thought to hear the clashing of arms, and the cries of the wounded.

“However, on approaching towards the centre of the town, especially in the neighbourhood of the bazaar, we began to see some inhabitants assembled around the Kremlin. These deluded beings, deceived by a tradition, had thought this citadel inviolable, and had attempted the preceding day to defend it for an instant against our valiant legions. Dismayed by their defeat, they contemplated, in tears, those high towers, which till then they had considered as the safeguard of their

town. Proceeding further on, we saw a number of soldiers who publicly sold and bargained a vast quantity of objects which they had stolen ; for it was only at the great magazines of provisions that the imperial guards had placed sentinels. Approaching nearer, the number of soldiers multiplied ; they were seen in great bodies, carrying on their backs pieces of cloth, loaves of sugar, and whole bales of merchandise. We did not know to what to attribute this shocking disorder, when some fusileers of the guards informed us at length, that the smoke which we had seen on entering the town, proceeded from a vast building, full of goods, called the Exchange, and which the Russians had set on fire on their retreat. ‘Yesterday,’ said these soldiers, ‘we entered the town about twelve o’clock, and towards five the fire manifested itself ; we endeavoured at first to extinguish it, but we soon learnt that the governor had sent away the engines. It is also believed,’ added they, ‘that this fire, which cannot be subdued, has been kindled by the nobility, with an intention to destroy our conquests, and to ruin the merchants who opposed the abandonment of Moscow.’

“A natural curiosity made me proceed. The more I advanced towards the place on fire, the more its avenues were obstructed by soldiers and beggars carrying off goods of all sorts ; despising the less precious, they threw them away. Thus were the streets in a short time covered with merchandise of every description. I penetrated at length into the interior of the Exchange, but, alas ! it was no more the building so renowned for its magnificence ; it was rather a vast furnace with burning beams falling on all sides. Under the piazzas alone it was possible to go about ; numerous warehouses were to be found there, in which the soldiers broke the chests, and divided the spoil, which exceeded all their expectations. No cry, no tumult was heard in this scene of horror ; every one found wherewithal to satisfy his thirst for plunder. Nothing was heard but the crackling of the flames, and the noise of the doors that were broken open ; till, all at once, a dreadful crash was occasioned by the falling in of a vault. Cottons, muslins, in short the most costly productions of Europe and Asia, burnt with the greatest violence. In the cellars were accumu-

lated sugar, oil, vitriol ; all these objects, consumed at once in subterraneous warehouses, sent forth torrents of flame through thick iron grates, presenting a grand but most terrific spectacle.

“ The most heart-rending scene which my imagination could ever have conceived, now presented itself. A great part of the population of Moscow, frightened at our arrival, hid themselves in the interior of their houses ; they were now leaving those asylums, when the fire penetrated them. These trembling wretches, without uttering the least imprecation, brought out from their hiding-places their most precious effects ; others, of greater sensibility, entirely given up to the feelings of nature, saved nothing but their children, who were clasped in their arms ; old people, borne down by grief rather than by age, could hardly follow their families, and many of them, lamenting the ruin of their country, expired near the houses in which they were born. The streets, public places, and particularly the churches, were filled with these unhappy people, who were lying on the remains of their furniture, suffering even without a murmur. Neither crying nor quarrelling was heard ; both the conqueror and the conquered were equally hardened ; the one from excess of fortune, the other from excess of misery.

“ The fire, which continued its ravages, soon reached the finest parts of the town. All those palaces which we had admired for the elegance of their architecture, and the taste of their furniture, were buried in the flames ; their magnificent fronts, ornamented with bas-reliefs and statues, losing their supports, fell with a dreadful crash on the fragments of their pillars ; the churches, though covered with iron and lead, fell likewise, and with them those beautiful steeples, which we had seen the night before, resplendent like gold and silver ; the hospitals, too, which contained more than twenty thousand wounded, soon began to burn. This occasioned a most revolting and dreadful scene ; almost all those poor wretches perished, and a few who still lingered, were seen crawling, half-burnt, amongst the smoking cinders ; others, again, groaning under heaps of dead bodies, lifted up their heads with difficulty, endeavouring to catch a glimpse of light.

“ But how shall I describe the tumultuous proceedings when permission was granted to pillage this immense

city? Soldiers, sutlers, galley-slaves, and abandoned women, were seen running through the streets; penetrating into the deserted palaces, taking away everything which could gratify their avarice. Some were covering themselves with stuffs worked in gold and silk; others, without any discrimination, placed rich and costly furs upon their shoulders; several others dressed themselves in women's and children's pelisses, and even the galley-slaves concealed their rags under splendid court-dresses; the rest crowded into the cellars, and forcing open the doors, drank the most costly wines, and carried off immense booty.

"Towards evening, when Napoleon did not think himself any longer safe in a town, the ruin of which seemed unavoidable, he left the Kremlin, and established himself, with his suite, in the castle at Peterskoö.

"The generals having, likewise, received orders to quit Moscow, the utmost confusion began to prevail; every one attempting to carry off the spoils of war which he had acquired. Through a thick smoke, a long row of carriages were perceived, loaded with booty. Being too heavy, they were obliged to stop at every step, when we heard the cries of the conductors, who, fearing the flames, endeavoured to push forward, with dreadful howlings. Every where armed people were seen, who forced open the doors, even if they were leaving the place, for fear of having left one house untouched. Some, having coaches heavily laden, carried the rest of their booty on their backs. The fire, however, obstructing the thoroughfare of the principal streets, obliged them often to return from whence they came. Thus, wandering from one place to another through an immense town which they did not know, they sought, in vain, a favourable track which might lead them out of this labyrinth of fire. A great number removed from, instead of approaching towards the gates, through which they might have gone out; thus falling victims to their own rapacity. But, notwithstanding this extreme danger, the love of plunder induced them to brave it. The soldiers, stimulated by an ardent desire of pillage, ventured into the middle of burning vapours. They walked in blood, treading upon dead bodies, whilst fragments and burning coals fell on their murderous hands. They would probably all have

perished, if an insupportable heat had not forced them at last to withdraw into their camp.

“The fourth corps having received orders to leave Moscow, we proceeded (September 17th) towards Peter-skoë, where our divisions were encamped. At that moment, which seemed to be the dawn of day, I witnessed the most dreadful and the most affecting scenes possible; namely, the unhappy inhabitants dragging upon some mean vehicles all that they had saved from their burning houses. The soldiers having taken from them their horses, men and women were drawing those carts, which contained sometimes a sick mother, or a paralytic old man. Half-naked children followed these interesting groups. Affliction, to which their age is commonly a stranger, was impressed on their features, and, when soldiers came near them, they ran crying into the arms of their mothers. Alas! what habitation could we have offered them which would not constantly recal the object of their terror? Without either a shelter or any assistance, this unfortunate people wandered about in the fields, and fled into the woods; but, wherever they bent their steps, they met the conquerors of Moscow, who frequently ill-treated them, and sold before their eyes some of those goods which they had taken away from their own deserted habitations.”

READING CX.

ANECDOTES OF THE BATTLE OF WATERLOO.

1815.

AFTER Buonaparte's disastrous campaign of Moscow, a general European league was formed against him; the results of which were his abdication of the throne of France, and exile to the island of Elba. Still, however, impelled by his restless spirit, he again appeared on the French shores, and, being seconded by the military, marched to Paris, whence he drove the Bourbons. The allied armies once more took the field, and the never-to-be-forgotten battle of Waterloo was fought on the 18th of June.

The following is the account given by Jean Baptiste La Coste, who served as guide to Buonaparte :—

About five in the morning he was taken prisoner, to serve as a guide, and conducted, with his hands tied behind him (that he might not escape, as a former man had done), to another house belonging to him, opposite to which Buonaparte had slept. Observing the French soldiers plundering and destroying this house, he cried. Buonaparte asked him what he cried for. "Because your soldiers are destroying all my property, and my family have no where to put their heads." Buonaparte said, "Do you not know that I am emperor, and that I can indemnify you a hundredfold?" He was placed on a horse, immediately between Buonaparte and his first aid-de-camp, his saddle being tied to the saddle of a trooper behind him, that he might not escape. They proceeded to a little beyond Belle Alliance, and Buonaparte took the ground on a small eminence on the opposite side ; a sort of body guard of twelve pieces of artillery, very light, surrounding them. From this spot he could command both lines. He first observed, "How steadily those troops take the ground ; how beautifully those cavalry form! *Regardez ces chevaux gris ! Qui sont ces beaux cavaliers ? Ce sont de braves troupes, mais dans une demi-heure je les couperai en pièces.* Look at those grey horse (the Scotch Greys,) what superb cavalry is that ? They are fine troops, but in half an hour I shall cut them to pieces." Observing how the chasms in the British squadrons were filled up the instant they were made by his artillery, he exclaimed, "*Quelles braves troupes ! comme ils se travaillent ! ils travaillent bien, très bien !* What brave fellows ! how they fight ! they fight well, admirably well !" He asked La Coste the particulars of every house, tree, wood, rising ground, &c., with which he seemed well informed, holding a map in his left hand, and intent upon the action all day ; incessantly taking snuff from his waistcoat pocket, in large pinches, of which he violently snuffed up about half, throwing the other from him with a violent exertion of the arm, thumb, and finger, as if from vexation ; this was all the refreshment he took for fourteen hours. He frequently placed his left hand upon the back of La Coste's horse, to speak to the aid-de-camp on the other side of him. Seeing La

Coste flinch at the shower of shot, he said, "Do not stir, my friend, a shot will kill you as well in the back as the front, or wound you more disgracefully." About half-past five, hearing the fire of the Prussians on the right of his rear-flank, leaning his hand on the neck of La Coste's horse, and seeing the British cavalry, from their right and left flanks, making a tremendous charge, that would have encircled his personal position, he exclaimed, "*Il faut que nous nous sauvons*,"—we must make our escape ;" retreating with all his staff. About forty yards along the road, and within about twenty yards of the house, Belle Alliance, he halted, and, putting the glass to his eye, and seeing the British cavalry intermingled pell-mell (*promiscuously*), and furiously cutting the French troops to pieces, he exclaimed, "*Qu'ils sont terribles, ces chevaux gris!*"—What terrible fellows are those grey horsemen !" meaning the Scots Greys (which had particularly during the day, and at that moment, attracted his attention). "*Il faut nous dépêcher : nous dépêcher!*"—We must make haste : make haste !" They and all the cavalry commenced a gallop till they got about 300 yards beyond Charleroi, where they halted and pitched a tent upon a grass-plot, about nine at night. A fire was kindled, and refreshments placed upon a chair, which Buonaparte partook of, for the first time since the morning, standing with his back to the fire, and his hands generally behind him, conversing with a circle of nine, whose horses La Coste had been ordered to hold. The party, about two in the morning, broke up, when each taking his horse, the servant of the last gave La Coste a Napoleon d'or, which he exchanged, after twenty-four hours' fast, to refresh himself and family.

A brave major of the forty-second Highlanders, preferring to fight on foot, in *front* of his men, had given his horse to hold to a little drummer-boy of the regiment. After some severe fighting with the French horse cuirassiers, and after receiving several severe wounds, he fell, from loss of blood, near a brave private, Donald Mackintosh, of his corps, who was mortally wounded at the same instant. The little drummer-lad had left the horse, to assist poor Donald: a lancer seeing the horse, thought him a fair prize, and made a dash at him. This did not escape the watchful and keen eye of the dying Highlander, who, with all the provident spirit of his country ruling strong

even in death, groaned out, "Hoot mon, ye munna tak that beast, 't belongs to oor captain here." The lancer, understanding little of his brogue, and respecting less his writhing gestures, seized upon the horse. Donald loaded his musket once more, shot him dead, and the next moment fell back and expired content. An officer of the cuirassiers, observing our poor major still bestirring himself, rode up, and, stooping from his charger, aimed to despatch him with his sword; our resolute major seized his leg, and still grappled with him so stoutly, that he pulled him off his horse upon him. Another lancer, observing the struggle, galloped up, and, to relieve his officer, attempted to spear the major, who, by a sudden jerk and desperate exertion, placed the Frenchman, in the nick of necessity, in his arms before him, who received the mortal thrust below his cuirass, and, in this condition, continued lying upon him, with his sword in his hand, for nearly ten minutes. The major, unconscious that his substitute had received a death-wound, expected all this time to receive his own at his hand. At last, the French officer raised himself, ran, or staggered a few yards, and then fell to rise no more. Another private of his regiment now came up, and asked his major what he could do to assist him: "Nothing, my good friend, but load your piece and finish me." "But your eye still looks lively," said the poor fellow; "if I could move you on to the ninety-second, fighting hard by, I think you would yet do well." With the aid of a fellow-soldier, he was moved as the man proposed, and being seen by an intimate friend, colonel Cameron, commanding the ninety-second, he instantly ordered him every succour possible. A blanket and four men carried him a little in the rear. While they were raising him, colonel Cameron exclaimed, "God bless you; I must be off; the devils (meaning the lancers) are at us again,—I must stand up to them." He did so, and, in a few minutes, stretched dead on the bed of honour, finished his mortal career in the bold defence of his country.

The brave major is still alive, though bearing about him the honourable scars of sixteen severe wounds received in that arduous conflict.

Colonel the Hon. F. C. Ponsonby, in heading gallantly

the first charge of the twelfth dragoons, about eleven o'clock on the eighteenth, was disabled, successively, in both arms, by sabre wounds. The reins dropped from one hand, and his sword from the other ; while in this situation, he was knocked off his horse by a violent blow on the head, which stunned him. He then lay for some time on the ground, in a state of insensibility. On recovering his senses, he opened his eyes, and raising his head to look about him, he observed a French lancer standing over him. The wretch, seeing him open his eyes, instantly exclaimed, "*Aha ! brigand ; tu n'es pas mort donc !*—Ah ! scoundrel, you are not dead yet," and, thrusting his lance twice through his body, left him for dead. The weapon having passed through his lungs, he was immediately deprived of speech, so that on two foreign soldiers coming in succession to plunder him, he could only make a faint noise, to prove that he was still alive. They, however, pursued their object, and taking even his cigars, left him to his fate. At length, his situation was noticed by a French officer, who lay severely wounded at some distance, and who, creeping with great difficulty towards him, presented to his mouth, while he was in this exhausted state, a pocket pistol. From this the colonel drank some sort of spirit, and to this act of humanity he attributes his strength to go through his sufferings. In this state, he remained with seven severe wounds, and suffering great agony, particularly from thirst, till late in the evening, when a private soldier of the fortieth regiment came up to him. By this time he had sufficiently recovered his voice to entreat the soldier to remain with him till the morning, being apprehensive that if he once left him, he would not be able to find him out again in the dark. The man begged leave to look for a sword ; "and then, your honour," said he, "I'll engage the devil himself won't come near you." He soon picked up a French sabre, and then sat quietly down by the colonel till day-light, when he went in search of some men of the twelfth dragoons, who hastened to carry their gallant commander to a place of comparative comfort and safety.

De Coster's Narrative of what Buonaparte said and did on the 18th of June, 1815, during and after the Battle of Waterloo.

J. B. De Coster is aged about fifty-three. Before the invasion of Napoleon, he occupied a small ale-house, with about six acres of land. Upon the approach of the French army on the 17th June, he retired with his family, consisting of his wife and seven children, into the wood of the abbey D'Awyiers, where he passed the night, Saturday; at six o'clock on Sunday morning he went to church, and from thence to his brother's, who lived at Planchenoit. He met there three French generals, who inquired of him if he had lived in the country a long time, and if he was well acquainted with the environs? Upon his answering in the affirmative, one of them sent him to Buonaparte with a letter, and accompanied by a servant.

Buonaparte slept, on the 17th of June, at a farm called the Caillou, and left it at six in the morning. De Coster found him at a farm, called Rossum, where he (Buonaparte) arrived at eight, A.M., and was immediately presented to Buonaparte, who was standing in a room about twenty feet by sixteen, in the midst of a great number of officers of his staff. Buonaparte asked him, if he was well acquainted with the local situation of the country, and if he would be his guide? De Coster having answered him satisfactorily, Buonaparte told him he should accompany him, adding, "*Speak frankly with me, my friend, as if you were with your children.*"

Rossum farm is near La Belle Alliance. The emperor remained there till near mid-day. During this time De Coster was closely watched in the farm-yard by one of the *garde*, who, whilst walking with him, informed him of the force of the French army, and told him, that upon passing the frontiers, they had an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men, of which forty thousand were cavalry, among which were nine thousand cuirassiers, seven thousand of the new, and eight or nine thousand of the old guard. This soldier highly praised the bravery displayed by the British at Quatre Bras. He particularly admired the *sang froid* (coolness) of the Scotch

Highlanders, who, he said in his military phrase, "*ne bougeaient que lors qu'on leur mettait la baïonnette au dos*"—did not stir till the bayonet saluted their backs."

During this time, Buonaparte had De Coster called three different times, to obtain information as to the map of the country, and which he constantly consulted. He questioned him chiefly upon the distance of several towns of Brabant from the field of battle, and made him describe those he had seen in his youth. De Coster named fourteen, which appeared to please Buonaparte; he seemed very much satisfied to find that De Coster was Flemish, and that he spoke the same language; he advised him, above all, to give only well-authenticated information, and not to answer for things of which he was uncertain, shrugging his shoulders at the same time. He repeated these instructions frequently, adding, "that if he, Buonaparte, succeeded, his recompense should be a hundred times greater than he imagined." He dispensed with every particular mark of respect, telling him, that instead of taking off his cap, he need only put his hand to his forehead.

At mid-day, Buonaparte went out with his staff, and placed himself upon a bank on the side of the road, which commanded a view of the field of battle. Shortly afterwards, news arrived that the attack upon the farm and chateau of Hougoumont, which he had commenced at eleven o'clock, was unsuccessful.

At one, the battle became general; Buonaparte remained in his first station, with his staff, until five; he was on foot, and constantly walked backwards and forwards, with his thumbs in the pockets of a dark-coloured great coat; he had his eyes fixed upon the battle, and pulled out his watch and snuff-box alternately. De Coster, who was on horseback near him, observed his watch frequently. Buonaparte perceiving that De Coster took snuff, and that he had none, gave him several pinches.

When he found that his attempts to force the position of the chateau of Hougoumont had been made in vain, he took a horse, left the farm Rossum at five P.M., and riding foremost, halted opposite De Coster's house, about one hundred yards from La Belle Alliance. He remained there until seven. At that moment he, by means of a telescope, first perceived the Prussian advance, and com-

municated it to an aid-de-camp, who, upon turning his spying-glass, saw them also. Some moments after, an officer came to announce that Bulow's corps approached. Buonaparte replied that he knew it well, and gave orders for his guard to attack the centre of the English army; and riding at full gallop, in advance, he placed himself with his staff in a hollow, by the road, half-way between La Belle Alliance and Haye Sainte. This was his third and last position.

Buonaparte and his suite ran great risks to reach this hollow. A bullet struck the pommel of the saddle of one of his officers, without touching him or his horse. Buonaparte contented himself by coolly observing "*that they must remain in this hollow.*"

Here there was on each side of the road a battery, and perceiving that one of the cannons of the left battery did not play well, he dismounted, ascended the height of the road, advanced to the third piece, and rectified the error, whilst the batteries were hissing around him.

While in this situation, he saw eight battalions of his old guard, to whom he had given orders to force the centre of the English army, advancing upon Haye Sainte. Three of these battalions were annihilated in his sight, while crossing the road, by the firing from the farm and batteries. Nevertheless, the French made themselves masters of the farm; and the Hanoverians who occupied it were obliged to surrender for want of ammunition.

To support the foot guards, Buonaparte made his horse guards, composed of eight or nine regiments, advance; he waited the result of this charge with the greatest anxiety, but he saw the flower of his army destroyed in an instant, while ascending the hill upon which Haye Sainte is situate. This was his last trial; for, on seeing his old guard destroyed, he lost all hope, and, turning towards his officers, said, "*A présent, c'est fini; sauvons nous!*"—It's all over, let us be off!"

It was half-past eight o'clock, when without making any further exertions, or giving any orders, he, accompanied by his staff, rode off at full gallop to Genappe, taking all possible care to avoid the Prussians. In passing a battery of fourteen guns, that was near the observatory, he ordered that, before they abandoned it to the enemy, they should fire fourteen rounds.

When he arrived at Genappe, it was half-past nine o'clock, p. m. The only street which forms the village was so encumbered with baggage-waggons and cannon, that it required a whole hour to pass them, alongside the houses ; all the inhabitants had forsaken their dwellings. There was no other road to take, because the Prussians occupied the left, and there was no other bridge but that of Genappe, by which to pass the river that flowed there. From Genappe he advanced towards Quatre Bras, hastening his pace, always afraid that the Prussians would arrive before him ; he was more tranquil when he had passed this last place ; and when arrived at Gosselies, he even dismounted, and walked the remainder of the road to Charleroi, about one league. He traversed Charleroi on horseback, and stopped in a meadow called Marcenelle, at the other end of the town. There they made a large fire, and brought two glasses and two bottles of wine, which he drank with his officers. He took no other nourishment. They spread upon the ground a sack of oats, which his horses ate in their bridles. At a quarter before five o'clock, after having taken another guide (to whom he gave the horse that had served De Coster), he remounted, made a slight bow to De Coster, and rode off. Bertrand gave De Coster, for his services, a single Napoleon and disappeared, as did also the whole staff, leaving De Coster alone, who was obliged to return home on foot.

From the moment that Buonaparte began to retreat, until his arrival in the meadow of Marcenelle, he did not stop, nor did he speak to any one. He had taken no nourishment from the time he left the farm Rossum, and De Coster even thinks he had taken nothing from six in the morning.

The dangers of the battle did not seem to affect him. De Coster, who was greatly agitated through fear, lowered his head frequently on the neck of his horse, to avoid the balls which hissed over his head. Buonaparte appeared displeased at it, and told him that those motions made his officers believe that he was wounded, and also added, that he would not escape the balls more by stooping, than by holding himself upright.

Until half-past five, p. m., he had the greatest hope of success, and repeated every moment, "*Tout va bien,—* All goes on well." His generals entertained the same

hope. He was perfectly calm, and showed much *sang froid* during the action, without appearing out of humour, and always spoke very mildly to his officers.

He was never in danger of being taken prisoner, being always well guarded; and in his third station, where he was nearest to the enemy, he had with him twelve pieces of cannon, and three thousand grenadiers of his guard.

He made no use of the observatory, which had been constructed six weeks before by the Dutch engineers.

READING CXI.

FRENCH REVOLUTION OF 1830.—DECEASE OF THEIR MAJESTIES GEORGE IV. AND WILLIAM IV.—ACCESSION OF VICTORIA.

THE last year of the reign of George IV. was rendered memorable by the revolution which was effected in Paris, and by which Charles X. was forced to abandon the throne of France. His ministers had presented to him a long memorial, containing an exposé (*statement*) of the dangers to which they represented the monarchy as exposed, from the prevalence of democratic and anti-social tendencies. This state of things they showed to be owing to the licentiousness of the periodical press, and the arrangements of the elective system. The advice following this exposé, though in the utmost degree bold and dangerous, was instantly followed. On the 25th of July the king signed three ordinances (*decrees*), which superseded (*set aside*) the constitution. By the first, the liberty of the press was suspended. The second dissolved the newly-elected chamber of deputies (*the French House of Commons*). The third introduced a new system of election, calculated to render the popular voice null and of no effect.

The first intelligence which the people of Paris received of the intended new system of government, was the appearance of the ordinances in the *Moniteur*, on the morning of Monday, the 26th of July, and the capital immediately began to exhibit symptoms of rising agitation.

On the morning of the 27th the gendarmerie and other agents of the police commenced seizing the types and

breaking the presses of the offending journalists. Not fewer than 30,600 persons, whose daily bread depended on the various branches of printing, and other arts connected with that occupation, were thrown out of employ.

Notwithstanding that immense crowds of exasperated and idle people inundated the streets and public places of Paris, the troops were not ordered under arms until four o'clock in the afternoon ; but by their exertions, the streets were tolerably well cleared towards night, the mob being as yet unarmed.

On Thursday, the 28th. the populace, who had spent the previous night in making their preparations, recommenced their operations. The tri-coloured flag was raised, and the tumultuary insurrection assumed the garb of regular war. Indeed so well ordered were their proceedings, that Marmont, the governor of Paris, despatched a note to the king in the following words :—" I had the honour last night of giving your majesty an account of the dispersion of the groups which disturbed the tranquillity of Paris. This morning they have again formed, more numerous and menacing than before. It is no longer a riot, but a revolution." Excited by the sound of the tocsin (*alarm bell*), the citizens inhabiting the quarters of St. Jacques, St. Germain, the Odéon and Gros Caillou, came forth in arms, to the number of 5,000 or 6,000 men, all shouting *Vive la Charte !* (the charter for ever !) They had to combat two regiments of the royal guards, posted in the courts of the Louvre, and in the garden of the Infants, and three strong detachments of lancers, cuirassiers, and foot grenadiers, occupying the Carousal, supported by a reserve of artillery planted in the garden of the Tuileries. The attack commenced in the garden of the Infants. The royal guards permitted the first assailants to approach, and there the contest ended almost as soon as it was begun, by the slaughter of the front rank. Almost at the same instant fresh assailants drove back the defenders of this important post. In the midst of a constantly rolling fire, the iron railings were broken down. This manœuvre, which in the end rendered the citizens masters of the Tuileries, was effected with extraordinary resolution and rapidity. Still resistance was offered with bloody obstinacy on

other points, particularly the Pavilion of Flora, from which a constant firing had been kept up from seven in the morning upon the Pont Royal, and many were killed. Musket shots from the apartments of the duchess d'Angoulême, were fired without cessation. Therefore, as soon as the Pavilion of Flora was taken, every article of furniture, and thousands of scattered papers, among which were proclamations to the troops to stimulate them against the citizens, were thrown out of the windows. Twice the palace of the Tuileries was taken and abandoned, but at half-past one the citizens were finally victorious, and two tri-coloured flags were planted on the central pavilion. Except the destruction of the furniture above mentioned, little excess was committed. Arms alone were taken; those, of course, were eagerly seized wherever found, and the only trophy carried off by the victors was a very richly ornamented sword, said to belong to the duke of Ragusa.

A tremendous struggle took place on the same day between a party of the national troops and the Swiss of the royal guards, in the rue St. Honoré, near the extremity of the rue de Richelieu, and also in the place (*square*) du Palais Royal, the Swiss and royal guards having intrenched themselves in some of the houses. The result was in favour of the popular cause, and the slaughter was very great on both sides.

The contest was renewed on the 29th, and with the like success on the popular side. During the night of the 30th of July, the duke of Orleans came to Paris, and received, at half-past eight in the morning, the commissioners appointed to wait upon him by the meeting of the deputies. It was represented to his royal highness, that the most extreme danger would arise from delay; that agitators, as well as sincere enthusiasts, would proclaim the republic in the streets, and that the fruit of so just and dear a victory would become the prey of the most frightful anarchy. Two hours afterwards his royal highness issued his proclamation. It was received with transport and gratitude by the majority; but it was soon understood that on the preceding evening, a number of persons, excited by the success of the conflict in which they had been engaged, and fired by natural resentment, declared their distrust of both branches of the house of

Bourbon, and exhorted general La Fayette to become the president of, at least, a provisional government; and that portion of the population overpowered by their noise all the rest of the public, who were silent and willing to conform to the measures that might be adopted by the assembled deputies.

His royal highness's proclamation was expressed in a manner worthy of commendation (*praise*), and was calculated to calm the most distrustful. However, the assembled deputies thought they might take upon themselves to draw up a proclamation also, and carry it in a body to the Palais Royal. The deputies passed through an immense crowd, and were greeted with the loudest applause. This first representation of a public authority appearing in the midst of disorder, brought with it hope and security.

Before the deputies the barricades fell. The prince received them with extreme affability, and with an expression of his sentiments which produced a marked effect on every one. When his royal highness signified his intention of proceeding on horseback to the Hotel de Ville, all the deputies consented to accompany him. The ride was long and wearisome, across the barricades, and in the scorching heat of the sun. But what a spectacle! what transports! what an immense concourse of people! *Vive la charte! Vive la liberté! Vive le duc d'Orléans!* were the acclamations which resounded for nearly two hours, the time which the procession took in moving to the Hotel de Ville. On entering the grand hall, the prince embraced M. de la Fayette. During this time the scene changed at St. Cloud. The king quitted that residence about four o'clock in the morning, and went to breakfast at Trianon. The dauphin remained, to endeavour to excite the troops who had returned to St. Cloud, in his favour. His efforts were in vain, and it is asserted that he treated the duke of Ragusa very harshly; reproaching him with betraying his new master as he had betrayed Napoleon. It is even said that he broke the marshal's sword. Finally, the dauphin departed to join his family, who were to sleep that night at Chartres.

On Monday, August 9th, Philip, the duke of Orleans, was chosen king of the French, under the title of Philippe I.

GEORGE IV. breathed his last on the 26th June, 1830. For ten years before he mounted the throne as king, he had been at the head of the empire as regent, during the mental malady of his father. Into that period were crowded the most splendid triumphs of British history, so that the proudest boasts of this country will be for ever associated with his name as regent. He was succeeded by his next brother, William Henry, duke of Clarence, who was proclaimed king under the title of William, and whose name, if not rendered illustrious by the glory of military renown, will for ever be endeared to Englishmen, for the patriotic part he took in the "Reform Bill," and the aversion he always manifested for the judicial shedding of blood. The foreign event which most distinguished his reign, was the separation of the kingdom of the Netherlands into two distinct powers, Holland and Belgium. Prince Leopold, husband to the late princess Charlotte of Wales, was, after considerable time and dissension, chosen king by the Belgians.

In 1832, died Ferdinand VII. king of Spain, who, as if he had not sufficiently injured his country by his imbecility, bigotry, and tyranny, while living, plunged it, at his death, into a civil war, by abrogating the Salic Law (*the law which prohibits females from succeeding to the crown*), and nominating his infant daughter as his successor, to the exclusion of his brother Don Carlos, the heir presumptive.

The death of the kind-hearted William IV., which took place on the 28th of June, 1837, caused one universal feeling of regret and sorrow to his subjects, to whom he was endeared by the deep interest in their welfare which he invariably manifested, as well as by the many manly virtues which adorned and marked his character.

Upon the occurrence of this distressing event, her present majesty was immediately proclaimed queen, by the title of Victoria I.

READING CXII.

THE SUTLEJ CAMPAIGN.

WAR can be contemplated with complacency, and victory with exultation, only when the former is undertaken in defence of right, and the latter is tempered with moderation and forbearance : for, although there has scarcely ever been a contest, the objects of which have not been rhetorically set forth as just and righteous by both the belligerent (*waging war*) powers, the conduct of the victor has never failed to strip off the flimsy disguise, and to expose the real motive—lust of power, or thirst for vengeance, in all its native deformity.

In an age, therefore, like the present, when it may be hoped that the great principles of religion and morality have sunk deep into the human breast, and when, consequently, nothing short of self-preservation can justify an appeal to arms, or hallow (*bless*) their successful issue, it is gratifying to reflect that the unparalleled (*unequalled*) exertions of the British troops in the campaign about to be described, may be viewed with unmixed satisfaction, and that the laurels then gathered on the banks of the Sutlej are as pure as they are unfading.

The part of India in which this fierce struggle took place is called the Punjaub, a territory that, like the Egyptian Delta, (*a triangular tract of land*), forms an irregular triangle, with its base resting against the Himalaya mountains, and its apex (*point*) turned southward in the direction of Scinde ; bounded on the west by the Indus, and on the east by the Sutlej, and lying between the 30th and 34th degrees of north latitude, and the 70th and 77th degrees of east longitude. It is traversed from north to south by four other rivers,—the Beah, Ravee, Chenab, and Islam,—which afford facilities for upwards of two thousand miles of internal navigation. Beyond the Indus, the Sikhs possessed two provinces, the Derajat and the territory of the Peshawar. Kashmir also had long been theirs, as well as Ladak and Balti, two countries high up in the Himalaya mountains.

Lahore, the capital, stands on the right bank of the Ravee, about 1000 miles from the mouth of the Indus, 1070 from Bombay, and 1360 from Calcutta. It is a city of considerable size, the circuit of its fortifications exceeding seven English miles, and can boast of possessing several splendid mosques, caravanseras, baths, pagodas, palaces, and gardens ; but its streets, like those of Indian towns in general, are very narrow, and most disgusting and offensive from the filth suffered to accumulate in them. Lahore, which has a population of 80,000 souls, was the residence of the first Mohammedan conquerors, before they advanced further into the interior.

The word *Sikh*, by which the inhabitants of this part of India are known, implies a religious, as well as a geographical distinction, meaning not only a native of the country, like the words, Englishman, Frenchman, German, &c., but also the member of a religious sect or community, as, Christian, Jew, Mohammedan, &c. Their religion, called Nanekism, was founded by one Nanek, a native of Lahore, born in 1419, and may be considered as a mixture of Brahminism (*the religion of the Hindoos*) and Mohammedanism ; its precepts are those of a pure deism. A religious persecution which the Sikhs suffered from the Mohammedans, about 91 years after the establishment of the former, converted them from a quiet inoffensive people into a military one ; nor was it long before they found means to shake off the yoke of servitude, while by the asylum and protection which they offered to those who had, like themselves, been the victims of religious bigotry, their numbers were greatly increased.

The Sikhs cannot, however, be regarded as a compact and united people until the rise of the celebrated Runjeet Sing, they having been, previously to his time, split into many sections, each of which was governed by an independent chief. Runjeet's ambitious plans were nearly always successful, and under him the Sikhs first became a really formidable nation ; but they could not cope with the British, for when Runjeet endeavoured to push his conquests to the mouth of the Sutlej, he was compelled to retire. Perceiving now the superiority of European discipline and tactics, (*military science*,) he exerted himself to the utmost, in order that his troops might possess the same advantages, and having invited and obtained the

assistance of many distinguished European officers, particularly Generals Avitabile, Ventura, Allaud, and Court, he established his army upon a footing which rendered it more than a match for the native powers, his neighbours.

In personal appearance, the Sikhs are a very fine race of men, being tall, muscular, and full of vigour, with prominent features, high foreheads, and eyes capable of expressing the softest emotions, as well as the fiercest passions of their nature. They have the utmost aversion to any manual labour or servile industry, thinking the only honourable occupation to be that of arms, and would rather die of hunger than till the earth or practise commerce.

The Sikh soldier is paid very liberally, and receives a much larger allowance than does the Sepoy in the service of the East India Company. The dress of these troops is composed of a *chuphan*, or coat made of various stuffs and of any colour, well quilted, so as to resist sword cuts; and many have even withstood the point of a lance. The *pyjamas* or pantaloons are almost always yellow, loose about the hips, and from the knee downwards perfectly tight; the head-dress is either a turban or a steel helmet, fitting close to the head, with chains, &c. The arms of each are a matchlock, spear, dagger, pistols, sword and shield. The costume of a Sikh chief is indeed magnificent: Rajah Soochet Sing, the brother of the famous minister of state Dheean Sing, is described as being thus splendidly equipped.

“He wore a helmet or skull-cap of bright polished steel inlaid with gold, and a deep fringe of chain mail (*armour*) of the same material reaching to his shoulders; three plumes of black heron’s feathers waving on his crest, and three shawls of lilac, white, and scarlet, twisted very round and tight, interlaced with one another, and gathered round the edge of his helmet; a chelent or carcanet of rubies and diamonds on his forehead; back-piece, breast-plate, and gauntlets of steel richly embossed with gold and precious stones, worn over a rich thick-quilted jacket of bright yellow silk, with magnificent armlets of rubies and diamonds on each arm, a shield of the polished hide of the rhinoceros, embossed and ornamented with gold, a jewelled sabre, and a matchlock.”

The Sikh army, under Runjeet Sing, consisted of

about 80,000 men of all arms, being 40,000 of irregular infantry, 9,000 regular infantry, 4,000 regular cavalry, 25,000 irregular cavalry of all classes, and 2,000 artillery. But he still further increased his military power by engaging in his service the wild and furious fakirs (*a kind of Mohammedan monks*) called Acalees; the genius of that able prince having convinced him that the same military discipline which has so frequently converted the raw and mindless peasant into a regular and obedient soldier would produce a change equally marvellous in the ferocious character of these fanatics. India cannot produce a race of men who appear so extraordinary to Europeans as the roving Acalees. Acknowledging no superior save the Supreme Being, they have not only no respect for the prince whom they serve, but take every possible occasion to show their contempt of him, whenever he is the subject of their discourse. Even Runjeet Sing himself was compelled to submit to their insults.

The Acalees are constantly on the move, and are armed to the very teeth, it being by no means an uncommon circumstance to see them with a drawn sword in each hand, two more in their belt, a matchlock at their back, and three or four pair of quoits fastened round their turban. This last-mentioned weapon, which is their favourite one, consists of a steel ring, varying from six to nine inches in diameter, and about an inch in breadth, very thin, and the edges ground very sharp; this they hurl with such surprising precision and force, as to be able to sever a limb at sixty or eighty yards' distance. As they deem the destroying men of a different creed a meritorious action, no sooner have they, by means of their trenchant quoit, decapitated an enemy, than, kneeling down and muttering a prayer, they offer up the body of the slain as a sacrifice.

Such, and so formidable was the description of foe with whom our brave countrymen, aided by the faithful Sepoys, (*natives of India, employed in the British service,*) were about to contend.

READING CXIII.

THE SUTLEJ CAMPAIGN CONTINUED—BATTLES OF
MOODKEE AND FEROZESHAI.

It was on the 13th December, 1845, that the governor-general, Sir Henry Hardinge, received precise information that the Sikh army had crossed the Sutlej and was formed in great force on the left bank of the river, for the purpose of attacking Ferozepore, which was occupied by an English division of little more than five thousand men. A proclamation was immediately issued on the part of the British government, tantamount (*equivalent*) to a declaration of war. "The Sikh army," it said, "has now, without a shadow of provocation, invaded the British territories. The governor-general must, therefore, take measures for effectually protecting the British provinces, for vindicating the authority of the British government, and for punishing the violaters of treaties, and the disturbers of public peace."

Reinforced by the garrison of Laodiana, five thousand strong, with twenty-one guns, Sir Hugh Gough had already, on the 11th, begun his march for the purpose of relieving Ferozepore. On the 18th, the British force having moved up by double marches, on alternate days, reached, and, with the exception of two European and two native regiments, passed by the village of Moodkee, and proceeded to bivouac (*to remain under arms during the whole of the night*) in front of it. Both men and horses were dreadfully jaded. In seven days they had traversed, through roads of heavy sand, a distance of more than one hundred and fifty miles. They had found no water during the last day's march, and were without supplies at the end of it; for many had no provisions at all issued out to them, and others, who had been more favoured in this respect, had no convenience for cooking: but rest alone was a luxury to men in their condition. Scarcely, however, had they enjoyed it for two short hours, when the patrols came galloping in, and announced that the

Sikhs were advancing. The bugles and trumpets now sounded to arms, the men fell into line, and the governor-general and the commander-in-chief rode from regiment to regiment encouraging them. Then, placing himself at the head of the cavalry and artillery, Sir Hugh Gough moved forward, while the governor-general formed the infantry, and at the head of twelve battalions of undaunted heroes marched in support of the troopers in advance.

The field of action was a sandy plain covered with low brushwood, and broken by slight undulations, of which the enemy, forty thousand strong, with twenty-one guns, availed himself to screen his infantry and cavalry. The fire which the Sikhs now opened upon our advancing troops was very severe, but was vigorously replied to by the battery of horse artillery under brigadier Brooke, and by two light field batteries; and the quick eye of the commander-in-chief no sooner perceived that the well-directed fire of our artillery had paralyzed that of the enemy than he ordered the cavalry under brigadiers White and Gough to make a flank movement on the enemy's left. Dashing forward with the utmost gallantry, our brave troops chased the Sikh cavalry from off the field, and sweeping along the rear of their line, silenced their guns and rode through their battalions. The attack of the infantry now commenced, and the roll of fire from this powerful arm soon showed the Sikh army the description of foe they had aroused, and drove them headlong from position to position with great slaughter and the loss of seventeen pieces of cannon; our infantry employing that never-failing weapon the bayonet, whenever the enemy attempted to make a stand. Night only saved them from worse disasters, for this stout conflict was maintained during one hour and a half of dim starlight, amidst a cloud of dust from the sandy plain, which served to obscure, still more, every surrounding object.

As the next object of the commander-in-chief was the relief of Ferozepore, threatened, according to the first reports received by the governor-general, by the Sikh army *en masse*, (*in one body*.) Sir John Littler was directed to join the main army as soon as possible with the Ferozepore force. After giving his men two days' rest, Sir Hugh Gough, quitting his camp at four o'clock in the morning of the 21st of December, found himself at

the point of junction a little after noon, and was greeted, as he approached, with the sight of heavy clouds of dust, raised, as was almost immediately discovered, by Sir John Littler's division, 5,000 strong. From Laodiana every man that could be spared had also been withdrawn, and these two reinforcements swelled the amount of troops in hand to between sixteen and seventeen thousand men.

The army advanced in four divisions: the right commanded by Sir Hugh Gough, the left by Sir John Littler, the centre by major-general Gilbert, and the rear by Sir Henry Smith. At about two p.m. it came upon the enemy, who occupied several fortified positions on very strong ground. His numerous guns made great havoc among the advancing force, which had nothing to oppose to them but light horse artillery. General Gilbert, with the centre division, carried in the most brilliant style that part of the Sikh position which it fell to his lot to attack; but Sir John Littler was not so successful: his division having forced nearer to the enemy's works than general Gilbert's had done, attacked rather too soon, and suffered very severely, for there was no diversion in its favour, and the enemy were able to turn against it the whole volume of their fire. The calibre (*size of the bore*) of the Sikh guns far exceeded that of ours, and our artillery consequently produced scarcely any effect upon the enemy, so that, notwithstanding the bravest efforts, our troops were compelled to retire, but quickly rallying and being re-formed, they made a splendid bayonet charge, the artillery at first covering their advance. This movement proved successful, although it cost many lives, the enemy's guns telling terribly, and the explosion of mines scattering fearful destruction around. Her Majesty's 3d dragoons, who had dashed on in advance, carrying everything before them, found themselves unexpectedly in front of a very strong position, the tremendous fire from which so thinned their ranks, that they were compelled to retreat. Night, which had now come on, put a temporary stop to hostilities, and such a night was never, perhaps, passed by troops before. Side by side with the dying and the dead did the living lie down, while, all around and all above them, the horizon was illuminated with the flames from burning huts, exploding shells, tumbrils (*carts used for the conveyance of military stores*), ammunition waggons, and occasionally by

the bursting of mines. Nor while the British troops prepared to snatch an hour or two's rest were the Sikhs idle, for they brought their cannon to bear upon that part of the field where the governor-general and commander-in-chief were resting with their staff (*officers attached to the commander of an army*): the 80th and 1st Bengal European regiments were immediately ordered to charge with the bayonet, and after suffering severely, succeeded in driving off the assailants.

There was now a lull of an hour or two, which Sir Henry Hardinge and Sir Hugh Gough employed in going about from corps to corps, animating the men, and impressing upon the officers that the only alternative on the morrow would be victory or death. The fight was renewed at daybreak by general Gilbert's division advancing to attack the positions which had not previously been carried. This battle of the 23d December was, perhaps, the most obstinate and sanguinary of all, and it was on this day that the commander-in-chief performed an action which may vie with the most chivalrous deeds of our Henrys and our Edwards. Seeing a part of his line reel and stagger under the fire, it occurred to him that if he could divert even a portion of the cannonade for a few moments to another point, the crisis of the battle would be passed: he immediately rode forward, attended by a single aid-de-camp (*an officer whose duty it is to receive and communicate the orders of the general*), and making himself prominently conspicuous to the Sikh gunners, moved slowly on one side, as if for the purpose of reconnoitring their entrenchments more particularly. In an instant, almost every gun in the battery was turned upon him: the shot ploughed up the dust about him, so as almost to hide both him and his horse from the enemy's view, yet not one took effect; and so complete was the diversion thus heroically produced, that the line of infantry, feeling as if redeemed from certain destruction, raised an animated shout and sprang forward: the next instant, the redoubt, with all the artillery it contained, was theirs. After the enemy had been thus driven from all his positions, he rallied and thrice returned to the attack, and was as often repulsed with great slaughter at the bayonet's point. Finally, the steady bravery of the British troops prevailed, and the enemy, broken and discomfited, precipitately

retreated towards the Sutlej, abandoning his camp, and all his guns, except ten, which the want of cavalry compelled our troops to allow him to carry off. The commander-in-chief, and the governor-general, were repeatedly in the thickest of the fire, both of them leading in person some of the most brilliant charges made on the ever-memorable day of Ferozeshah.

READING CXIV.

THE SUTLEJ CAMPAIGN CONCLUDED.—BATTLES OF ALIWAL AND SOBRAON.

THE rout of the Sikhs at Ferozeshah was succeeded by nearly a month's interval, which was employed by both sides in making preparations offensive and defensive for further operations. About the end of that time, intelligence was received at head quarters, that the Sirdar Runjoor Sing had crossed the Sutlej, threatening the British posts on that river, and especially Laodiana. That place was even taken and burnt; and then it was that Sir Harry Smith was sent towards Laodiana, taking possession of various posts on his road, Dhurrunkote, and others, which had fallen into the enemy's hands. Sir Harry Smith's objects in this expedition were—to give security to the post at Laodiana, which had been already reinforced—and to secure the communication in the rear by Bussean. Having executed this important duty with the utmost promptitude and success, and effected a junction with generals Godby and Wheeler, he moved on to the new position which the Sikhs had taken up near Aliwal, and there, on the 28th, was fought that celebrated battle which elicited (*produced*) from the immortal Wellington the following panegyric: "I will say with regard to the movements of Sir Harry Smith, that I have read the accounts of many battles, but I never read an account of an affair in which more ability, energy, and discretion were manifested, than in this case, or in which any officer has ever shown himself more capable than this officer did of commanding troops in the field; or in which every description of troops has been brought to bear with its

arm in the position in which it was most capable of rendering service, or in which everything was carried on more perfectly—the nicest manœuvres being performed under the enemy's fire with the utmost precision : nor have I read of any battle, in any part of the world, in which at the same time, energy and gallantry on the part of the troops were displayed to a degree that surpassed that exhibited in this engagement. I must say of this officer, that I never saw any case of ability manifested more clearly than in this instance ; it has been shown that Sir Harry Smith is an officer capable of rendering the most important services to his country.”*

But the crowning victory was yet to come, for, notwithstanding their three defeats, the Sikhs, trusting to the great strength of their entrenched camp, resolved still to make a stand against the efforts of the English. This camp rested both its flanks (*sides*) upon the deep water, and communicated with the high grounds above Sobraon by a bridge with a good ford on either side of it. The works had been repeatedly surveyed. They consisted of formidable entrenchments, defended by not fewer than 30,000 men and 70 pieces of artillery. The fortifications had been most skilfully constructed under colonel Don Hurbon de Alcantara, a Spanish engineer. There was a double line of batteries, arranged in semicircular form, high ramparts, and deep and wide ditches with holes and banks : a triple line of defences of earth and plank, such as a rifle ball could hardly enter, with fascines (*bundles of wood used for raising batteries, &c.*), redoubts and epaulements (*side works to strengthen a fortification*), appeared to defy the efforts of our troops. Immediately within they were, as in the camp at Ferozeshah, pierced with loaded mines, and every thing arranged which skill could plan, or perseverance carry out, during the four weeks they had occupied their position. A considerable force remained on the other side, with guns so placed as to command and flank the position on this.

The arrangements in contemplation had been submitted to the governor-general by the commander-in-chief, and met his hearty approval. Two piquets in front of Koodewallah and the little Sobraon, occupied by the enemy in

* Speech of the Duke of Wellington in the House of Lords, April 2, 1846.

force during the day only, were ordered to be taken possession of on the night of the 9th of February; and although some misconception and delay occurred, by daylight on the morning of the 10th they were in our hands. The battering and field artillery were placed in a semicircle, embracing within its fire the position of the Sikhs. The cannonade, which was meant to have commenced at day-break, was delayed till the rays of the sun had dispelled the mist, which, hanging over the river and the plain, rendered distant objects obscure. Two brigades under Sir R. Dick meanwhile waited on the margin of the Sutlej, to commence the attack on the enemy's right. The 7th, or Stacy's brigade, comprising Her Majesty's 50th and 53d, led on, supported at a distance of two hundred yards by the 6th, under colonel Wilkinson: the 5th under colonel Ashburnham, forming the reserve, was to advance from the entrenched village of Koodcewallah, leaving one regiment behind for its defence. General Gilbert's division, constituting the centre, was either to attack or support, its right resting on the village of the little Sobraon, which it partly occupied. On the left, near the village of Guttah, with its right thrown out towards the river, was general Sir Harry Smith's division. The cavalry, under colonel Cureton, feigned an attack on the ford at Hurreekce, threatening the Sikh horse on the other side. In the rear, between general Gilbert's right and Sir H. Smith's left, brigadier Campbell occupied a position capable of protecting both. Sir Joseph Thackwell with brigadier Scott, held the remainder of the cavalry in reserve on the left, ready to act as circumstances might demand. At three, A.M. the troops advanced to their respective stations as above described. At daybreak the light field batteries and a brigade of howitzers (*a kind of mortar or cannon*) opened. By half-past six, the whole fire of our artillery was developed. Round shot, shells, and rockets followed each other with fearful celerity, and the frequent explosion of ammunition-waggons in the enemy's camp showed with what precision they were aimed. At first a few horsemen showed themselves, reconnoitring and directing the removal of the baggage across the river by the bridge. Our infantry lay facing the works, within cannon range, but under cover. The enemy at first scarcely seemed aware of our position, the columns having taken up their ground

under cover of the night, but were quickly seen lining the whole of their works as they saw them surrounded. In an instant every gun was opened upon us from a common centre, and the fire became tremendous. Our guns were of formidable calibre, were admirably served, and pointed with the utmost precision ; but the Sikh position was so formidable, and their cannon so numerous, that it was feared that by cannonade alone it was vain to hope to carry the day in any reasonable time, and it was determined to bring the issue to the arbitrement (*decision*) of musket and bayonet. The attack in conformity with this determination was commenced at nine o'clock, when colonel Stacy's brigade, supported by colonel Lane's horse artillery, and captains Horseford's and Mordey's foot batteries, advanced steadily in line towards the enemy's works. The infantry under Stacy, supported by Wilkinson's brigade, moved on with equal coolness, halting when necessary to correct any imperfections in their line. About twelve hundred yards of deep sand had to be traversed. The artillery went on at a gallop, taking up a succession of positions until within three hundred yards of the enemy. The simultaneous (*at the same time*) roar of one hundred and twenty pieces of ordnance now resounded along the Sutlej: the slaughter was terrible ; and so hot was the fire of musketry, camel swivels and cannon, that it seemed for a moment impossible that the entrenchments should be won. On our soldiers went, under a storm of grape and musketry, now opening on them from the opposite side and focus of the entrenched position. A shout, a run, and a fire had no effect; the heaviness of the ground over which they had passed had fagged the men. The Sikhs saw their danger, but, confident in the power of their guns and strength of their position, stood firm and fought bravely. The enemy's cavalry, ordered to the rescue, was now seen preparing for the charge. A square was formed: the gallant sepoys coolly closed in on their own centre: the enemy's horse took warning and withdrew. In a moment the line was reformed and the troops advancing, but not a man had as yet passed the entrenchments. The Sikhs showed signs of wavering as they saw our column slowly and undismayed move on. One frightful effort more, and the out-works were our own. Her Majesty's 10th foot, under colonel Franks, charged without firing a shot till within

the entrenchments of the enemy. The 53d came next: the sepoy of the 43d and 59th emulated the Europeans in coolness and determination. The brigade of colonel Ashburnham now came to the support of that of colonel Stacy. Generals Gilbert and Sir H. Smith threw out their light troops, aided by the artillery, to threaten the other portions of the entrenchments. The Sikhs attempted to throw the whole force within their camp upon the two brigades which had entered, and the battle raged with terrific fury all along from right to left. Our heavy guns had first been directed to the right, when their fire required to be gradually suspended. The Sikhs strove with indomitable (*unconquerable*) valour to recover, sword in hand, the positions from which they had been driven at the bayonet's point; nor was it till the weight of the three divisions of infantry, and the fire of every piece of artillery belonging to our army, had been felt, and the cavalry under Sir Joseph Thackwell had, in single file, burst through the openings made by the sappers in the entrenchments, reformed and charged on the other side, that the victory was won. The 3d dragoons overcame every obstacle, galloped over and cut down the men still standing by their guns, and the victors pressed closely upon the enemy on every side. Now their fire first began to slacken, and then ceased. Regiment after regiment moved steadily down, and fearful volleys of musketry were poured in on the retiring foe. The few parties first retreating were followed by vast masses making for the bridge.

Thousands betook themselves to the river, which a sudden rise had just rendered unfordable. The bridge, meanwhile, had partially sunk, and was totally inadequate to the conveyance of the multitude pressing towards it. This battle had begun at six, it was over at eleven o'clock; the hand to hand combat commenced at nine, and scarcely lasted two hours. The river was full of sinking men. For two hours volley after volley was poured in upon the sinking mass; the stream became literally red with blood, and covered with the bodies of the slain. At last, the musket ammunition becoming exhausted, the infantry fell to the rear; the horse artillery plying grape till not a man was visible within range. No compassion was felt, or mercy shown: not only had our own loss been excessively severe, but the enemy during

the earlier part of the day had mutilated or murdered every wounded man that fell into their hands. The coolness and order with which the enemy retired, notwithstanding the havoc made amongst their ranks, was remarkable. Their columns moved out of range of our fire on reaching the further bank of the river, and pitched their tents, which had been sent across at an early part of the action. The bridge was partly burnt, partly sunk, and latterly destroyed by the engineers ; the camp in several places set fire to by stragglers—increasing the horror of the scene of carnage. Of 35,000 men who had that day maintained so stout a resistance, more than one half must have been killed or wounded. Sixty-seven guns, with upwards of two hundred formidable camel swivels, numerous standards, and an immense quantity of munitions of war, fell into the victors' hands. The loss on the side of the British was :—13 European officers killed ; 101 wounded ; 303 rank and file killed ; and 1,913 wounded. The governor-general was wherever the fire was hottest ; his gallant conduct is thus borne testimony to by the "glorious veteran," in his despatch of the 13th February, 1846, detailing to Sir Henry Hardinge the battle of Sobraon :—

"I have now to make the attempt—difficult, nay impracticable though I deem it—of expressing in adequate terms my sense of obligation to those who especially aided me by their talents and self-devotion in the hard fought field of Sobraon.

"First, right honourable sir, you must permit me to speak of yourself.—Before the action, I had the satisfaction of submitting to you my plan of attack, and I cannot describe the support which I derived from the circumstance of its having in all its details met your approbation. Nor did your assistance stop here : though suffering severely from the effects of a fall, and unable to mount on horseback without assistance, your uncontrollable desire to see this army once more triumphant carried you into the hottest of the fire, filling all who witnessed your exposure to such peril at once with admiration of the intrepidity that prompted it, and anxiety for your personal safety, involving so deeply in itself the interests and happiness of British India."

READING CXV.

BORNEO AND LABUAN.

THE increased interest, both in a political and commercial point of view, which the successful termination of the Chinese campaign has imparted to the island of Borneo, naturally suggests the propriety of presenting our readers with a sketch, drawn from the most recent authorities, of that extraordinary country.

The island of Borneo, or Pulo-Kalamantan as it is called by the natives and Malays, from a sour and indigenous (*native to a country*) fruit of that name, extends from 7° 7' north to 4° 12' south latitude, and from 108° 45' to 119° 25' east longitude, measuring at its extreme length nine hundred miles, and at its greatest breadth seven hundred; its periphery or circumference being about three thousand. It occupies the centre of that maritime region which comprises Sumatra, Java, Flores, Timor, the Moluccas, Celebes, and the Philippine isles, being bounded on the north by the Sooloo seas, on the east by the straits of Macassar, on the south by the Java sea, and on the west by that of China.

The name of Borneo is said to have been first given to the island by Europeans, who derived it from the word *Browni*, signifying *brave*, by which the natives then did and still do designate their principal city.

If Australia or New Holland be considered as the last and smallest of the continents, Borneo is undoubtedly the first and largest of all the islands of our globe. Its soil is rich, and diversified by the most striking contrasts. Chains of lofty mountains traverse vast plains from one extremity of the island to the other, describing in the interior lines similar to the configuration of the coast. The sea-shore is, for the most part, flat and covered with a broad zone of mangrove trees, amid which the waves delight to gambol, but into which it would be imprudent to penetrate, since the atmosphere itself is pestiferous, and death lurks behind almost every tree in the envenomed arrow of a Dyak or native.

The four seas described above as *laving* (*washing*) the shores of this island, receive from the high central grounds, by means of four large water-sheds, the waters produced by the diluvial (*flooding*) rains of the torrid zone, and which are protected from the solar influence by the thick shade of the forests. On the north coast, the largest rivers are those of Brouni or Borneo, Rejang, Sarebas, Sakarran, and Sarawak; on the west coast are the enormous ones of Sambas and Pontianak; in the south the great river Banjar; on the south-east that of Passir; and further north that of Coti. Most of these rivers are said to have their main source in a large lake situated in the vicinity of the Kina-Balou (the Chinese widow), a stupendous mountain supposed to be nearly 14,000 feet high.

Borneo owes its unparalleled fertility to its situation, the very centre of the tropical zone. All the various species of the palm abound, while from the humid plain shoot up those gigantic equatorial reeds, the bamboo, cane, rattan, &c. &c. The almond of a beautiful tree, called Canari, furnishes a delicious salad-oil, and the *Funisuncatus* yields the astringent gum known as *gutta gambir*. The trees of this family are very numerous in the island, and it is from thence that has recently been introduced into this country the *gutta percha*, which bids fair to rival caoutchouc or India rubber in its general utility and application to the arts, &c. In the south-east flourishes the *Melaleuca leucodendron*, from which is extracted the precious oil called *Kayar-ponti*, known and esteemed in India as a specific against the Asiatic cholera. Rices, yams and betel, with all the fruit trees of India, excellent ship timber, groves of nutmeg and clove trees, pepper, ginger, and cotton, grow and flourish in the highest perfection upon the island. Benzoin, a gum exuded (*emitted as juice*) by the *Laurus* or *Styrax benzoin*, is also very plentiful there.

Borneo produces many different species of the monkey tribe, but more especially the pongo and the orang-outang; two kinds of wild buffalo, wild boars, goats and swine; and it is probable that elephants may be found in the interior; but there are no lions, tigers, leopards, wolves, foxes, bears, or jackals. Reptiles, so abundant in moist and hot countries, exist here in vast numbers. Alligators and various kinds of serpents abound, while the marshes teem

with frogs, whose dismal croakings continue throughout the night: they are the food of the snakes, which are very numerous. Spiders, so disgusting in appearance in other countries, are here of quite a different description, being the most beautiful of the insect tribe.

The ornithology (*that part of natural history which treats of birds*) of the island, as far as is known, possesses but little variety; but the number of insects is infinite, and the wild bees supply so considerable a quantity of wax, as to form one of the great articles of export. Upon the shores of these seas the Salangana swallow, or *Hirundo esculenta*, constructs with a mucilaginous substance, somewhat resembling vermicelli (*a paste rolled in the form of worms*), those edible nests which are so delicious to the palate of a Chinese gourmand: whole populations have no other employment than that of collecting them from the Borneo rocks; each nest is said to be worth about half-a-crown of our money. From Cape Unsang, as far as Basilan, the bottom of the sea may be regarded as one bed of pearl oysters of the finest quality, while on the coral rocks lives the zoophyte (*animal plant*) called *holothuria* by naturalists, and by the Malays *tripang*, which, upon being dried, resembles nothing so much as the thick old sole of a shoe; it is, however, greatly esteemed by the Chinese, and forms a very productive article of commerce.

The mineral riches of Borneo are still more extraordinary than those of its surface, and it may be said without exaggeration, that all its rivers flow over beds of platina, diamonds, and gold. The last mentioned metal is found in great quantities at Konti, Passir, Banjar, Masingh, Tampaousk, and Mangidora. "To work the mines of the kingdom of Sonkadana with any effect," said the rajah (*native prince*) of Pontianak, "I must have more than a million of Chinese." In fact, this island, like Brazil, may be considered as the diamond country. At a mountain called Landa, which yields the finest, it is by no means a rare occurrence to find them of from twenty to thirty carats (*a weight of four grains*). The sultan of Malan possesses one reputed to be the largest in the world, and which is valued at about £300,000. The mountain called Kina-Balou, and the region surrounding it, contain so many crystals, as to give the name of the Crystal mountains to one of its chains. Tin abounds at Sarawak, copper in

Monpava, while the iron of Matan is equal to the best which Sweden produces.

All these natural riches have, as yet, been either totally neglected, or else turned to little account. The fame, however, of Borneo's exhaustless mines has not failed to attract great numbers of Chinese, who, emigrating to this favoured isle, have brought with them their industry, their intelligence, and their labour: they have formed settlements at Sambas, Monpava, and Pontianak, and compose almost the entire population of Montrado.

The several coasts are inhabited by people of different races, totally unconnected, governed by their own laws, and having their own peculiar customs; the west coast by Malays and Chinese; the north-west by the mixed descendants of the Moors of Western India; the north by Cochin-Chinese; the north-east by Sooloos; and the east and south by Bugis. There are, besides, three distinct tribes, who live in prahus or boats along the coasts: the Lanuns from Mindanao; the Orang-badju, and the Orang-tidong, of unknown origin. The interior and part of the north-west coast are inhabited by Dayaks or Dyaks, a savage people who are scattered in small tribes over the island, and are believed to be its original inhabitants. They are fairer than the Malays, tall, robust, and ferocious: one remarkable custom among them is to extract some of their front teeth, and insert pieces of gold in their stead; their bodies are painted, and their only clothing is a girdle round their middle.

It was in the year 1520 that Europeans, the crew of the celebrated navigator Magellan, paid their first visit to these regions. In the middle of the 17th century the Portuguese formed establishments in various points of the island, but after an occupation of about eighty years were almost wholly expelled by the Dutch. An anecdote strikingly illustrative of the intellectual state of the country at this period is given us by Joao de Barros, a Portuguese historian. "Two Portuguese ambassadors being sent," says he, "to the king of this country for the purpose of making a treaty of commerce, among other presents, exhibited a piece of tapestry, representing the marriage of Catherine of Aragon with Henry VIII. of England. When the king saw these figures, he was alarmed, believing them to be real personages enchanted

into the canvas, for the purpose of depriving him of his kingdom. The Portuguese explained the nature of this tapestry, but to no effect: the king ordered them to depart immediately, as he had no inclination, he said, to see any other monarch in Borneo than himself."

Other adventurers imitated the Dutch, and endeavoured to form settlements. In 1704, the English erected a small fort at Banjermassing, and the East India Company having some time afterwards rendered important services to the sultan of Sooloo, he ceded to them, in return, all the north-eastern shores of Borneo, which were in his possession at that time. This grant was, however, soon after abandoned, and the settlement reduced to a factory on the island of Balambangan, which was attacked in the year 1775, when in a weak and unguarded state, by a powerful tribe of Sooloos, commanded by the Daton Tetingh: surprising the fort, they slew the sentries and turned the guns upon the garrison, the majority of which were Malays. The few who escaped got on board the vessels in the harbour, and reached the island of Labuan, near the mouth of the Borneo river; whilst the booty obtained by the pirates was estimated at £375,000 sterling. Satisfaction was demanded of the sultan, who, of course, denied all participation in the affair, and the fort was abandoned.

Since that time no serious endeavour had been made by England to obtain a footing in this important island until the year 1830, when Mr. Brooke, an officer in the civil service of the East India Company, having received a wound in the Burmese war, left Calcutta for China, on a voyage for the recovery of his health. Struck with the vast importance and extraordinary beauty of the islands of the Indian Archipelago, and more particularly Borneo, he resolved to devote all his energies to the rescuing those rich countries from the oblivion in which they were plunged, and the bringing them within the pale (*limit*) of civilization, by suppressing piracy, extirpating the slave trade, humanizing the manners of the Malays, and securing the happiness of the natives. Many and serious disappointments, which would have discouraged a less enthusiastic and determined mind, delayed the execution of his plan until 1833, when he at length set sail from England. "I go," said Mr. Brooke, writing to a friend, "I go to awaken the spirit of slumbering philanthropy with

regard to these islands, to carry Sir Stamford Raffles' views in Java over the whole archipelago (*group of islands*). Fortune and life I give freely, and if I fail in the attempt, I shall not have lived wholly in vain." The efforts of this benefactor of his species were crowned with complete success, for the sultan of Borneo Proper not only invested him with the government of the south-eastern province of Sarawak, but also ceded to England the island of Pulo-Labuan, a position commanding the mouth of the river by which his capital is approached.

Pulo-Labuan, or Labuan, (the isle of anchorage,) lies in about 6° north latitude, and 115° east longitude, and rises about fifty feet above the level of the sea; its greatest length is nearly six, and its extreme breadth four and a half English miles, the whole area being thus about thirty square miles. The average heat is 83° Fahrenheit, and as the utmost range of the thermometer is 10°, the whole year consists of one hot and perpetual summer; yet the island is by no means unhealthy, since it is well ventilated by both moonsons (*winds in the Indian Ocean, which blow periodically*). Labuan is well wooded and watered, possesses abundance of excellent coal, and has a safe and commodious port on the south-east coast, named Victoria harbour. It is the only island on the north-west coast of Borneo, and lies nearly in the direct track both of steam and sailing navigation from India to China, and is as intermediate a position between Singapore and Hong Kong as can be found, being 700 miles from the former, and 1000 from the latter.

It was the opinion of Mr. Crawford, the late governor of Singapore, that such a settlement as that of Labuan would be highly advantageous to England, as a coal dépôt for steam navigation; as a means of suppressing the Malay piracies; as a harbour of refuge for ships disabled in the China sea; and, finally, as a commanding position during a naval war.

Labuan has now been formally declared a British possession, and although a mere islet, will (such are the advantages of position) not only confer upon England the undisputed command of the China sea, but enable her to establish the most important relations, political as well as commercial, with the largest and richest island in the known world.

READING CXVI.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION OF 1848.

THREE revolutions have, within the last sixty years, convulsed society in France, and compromised in a greater or less degree the tranquillity of Europe : the first, in the year 1789, ended in a stern but dazzling military tyranny under Napoleon ; the second drove the restored elder branch of the Bourbons into exile, and seated Louis Philippe, the king of the barricades, on what was called a constitutional throne ; of the third and last, which is still in progress, it can only be said, that it has expelled royalty, abolished all aristocratical distinctions, and proclaimed a republic. We leave to others the task of investigating the real causes of this last convulsion, and of indicating its results, ours is simply that of giving a rapid sketch of the few eventful days, big with the fate of Philippe and of France.

After various changes in the French ministry, M. Guizot, who had been for a long time the virtual, became, by the retirement of marshal Soult, the nominal head of the cabinet, and the right hand of the king, who grew daily bolder and more resolute in his advance towards absolutism.

The ostensible leaders of the opposition were MM. Odillon Barrot, Ledru Rollin, Lamartine, and Duvergier de Hauranne ; but amongst the more active liberals were generals Cavaignac, Bedeau, and Lamoricière, MM. Louis Blanc and Armand Marrast. Under the auspices (*patronage*) of these gentlemen, a reform meeting, known by the name of the banquet of the Chateau Rouge, had been got up, and was quickly imitated throughout the provinces. At Autun, Compiègne, Bezières, Amiens, Montargis, and St. Denis, similar banquets took place, and at many of them, amongst the toasts drunk after dinner, the health of the king was pointedly omitted.

Such was the situation of affairs when the reform banquet of the twelfth arrondissement (*district*) of Paris, which had frequently been postponed, was at length finally announced for Tuesday, the 22d of February ; but was again abandoned in consequence of a proclamation issued by the government on the Monday night previous,

forbidding the assembly. The opposition members consoled themselves for the disappointment, by impeaching the ministers in the Chamber of Deputies. Every precaution of a civil and military description was taken by government for the maintenance of order.

Notwithstanding the unfavourable weather on the morning of the 22d, the streets of Paris presented an animated spectacle at a very early hour. Groups of persons were seen assembling in every direction, and troops were every where in movement. About eleven o'clock, large masses filled the place de la Madeleine, the rue Royale, and the place de la Concorde, &c. One of these mobs, headed by two national guards armed with sabres, proceeded to M. Guizot's official residence, shouting, "Down with the man of Ghent!—Down with Guizot!" Towards two o'clock, all the shops began to be closed, and at about three, the mob commenced making barricades in the rues Rivoli, St. Honoré, &c.: this was chiefly effected by stopping omnibuses, cabs, carriages, &c., making the passengers alight, and then throwing the vehicles one upon the other, the paving stones having been previously removed; and it is remarkable that both these services were mostly performed by boys of from twelve to fifteen years of age. These barricades were defended by persons who had procured arms by forcing open the shops of gunsmiths, cutlers, and others, who sold weapons of offence.

At three o'clock the opposition members repaired to the Chamber of Deputies, and impeached the ministers: it is said that M. Guizot laughed very heartily when the document was handed to him by the president. Evening now approached, and, contrary to the general rule in such cases, every thing became quiet. Pickets of soldiers were seen here and there, with piled arms, before their bivouac fires, while a few patrols of the national guard performed their nightly rounds in silence.

Wednesday morning discovered the preparations which had been actively made for the approaching struggle. Troops of the line were seen in all the public squares, or, as the French call them, *places*, and cannon brought from Vincennes were so disposed as to command various important points; while, on the other hand, the barricades thrown up on the preceding day had been every where demolished, and every description of public carriage had

been cleared from off the usual stands, in order to prevent the construction of new ones : notwithstanding, however, these precautions, the populace had succeeded in raising several of these formidable barriers in different places.

The second legion of national guards now mustered, but it was to express their disapprobation of the ministry, and to demand electoral reform ; and so decided and resolute did they appear, that their colonel, M. Baignères, repaired, at two o'clock, to the duke de Nemours, and informed him, in the plainest terms, that unless the concessions were made, he could not answer for the fidelity of the troops. The third legion followed the example of their brethren, and loudly demanded the dismissal of the ministers, with cries of "Down with the ministry!—Reform for ever!—Down with Guizot!" The contagion now reached the troops of the line, who appeared disposed to side with the people, and every where the national guards were seen fraternizing (*associating as brothers*) both with the mob and the soldiers.

At three o'clock, the king dismissed the obnoxious ministry, and M. Molé accepted the *ministère de l'émeute* (the riot ministry)—but it was *too late*.

The tumult now appeared to be subsiding, when an unfortunate attack was made upon the mob assembled before the hotel, or official residence of the minister for foreign affairs, and fifty-two persons fell, either dead or wounded : the revolutionary storm again rose loud and violent ; barricades were formed at the corner of almost every street, and not a tree on the whole line of the Boulevards but was felled for the purpose of making them. Late at night the king in great alarm sent for MM. Thiers and Odillon Barrot ; M. Molé having declined the task of forming a new ministry.

Thursday the 24th was the decisive day. The deplorable catastrophe which had occurred the preceding evening in front of the hotel of the minister for foreign affairs had exasperated the people to the utmost. All reforms, or any change of ministry now proposed, were useless ; royalty in France was once more doomed to extinction, and the prince elected by the popular voice in 1830, was about to share the fate of Charles X.

From six o'clock in the morning, Paris was covered with barricades ; and thousands of citizens armed with

guns, sabres, pikes, and pistols, proceeded in silence to take their stand behind them, the tricolor flag waving on their summit. The conflict, however, was happily avoided, except on a few scattered points. By ten o'clock, the national guard had fraternized with the people, and the regiments of the line with the national guard. Reports of what was occurring were every moment brought to the palace of the Tuileries, and it became evident that if something decisive was not done, the whole of the troops would desert the sovereign. At eleven o'clock orders signed by Thiers and Barrot were issued to the troops to suspend the firing. These orders were every where torn down, and a cry—"To the Tuileries!" was raised; and from every part of the capital the insurgents marched upon that palace: by twelve o'clock it was invested (*surrounded*), and the populace prepared to take it by storm. At one o'clock the following proclamation was posted at the Bourse (*the exchange*) and other public places:—

"Citizens of Paris!—The king has abdicated in favour of the count de Paris, with the duchess of Orleans as regent.

"A general amnesty! (*pardon for political offences.*)

"Dissolution of the chamber.

"Appeal to the country."

But it was again *too late*. The terrible cry of *à la potence Louis Philippe*, (to the gallows with Louis Philippe) was now heard; the attack on the royal palace commenced, and it was taken by storm, after a conflict which lasted nearly an hour. The carnage on both sides must have been great.

Shortly previous to the attack, Louis Philippe, accompanied by the dukes de Nemours and Montpensier, rode in front of the regiments and legions drawn up near the Tuileries; but the shouts with which they were greeted were so equivocal, that they immediately re-entered the palace.

It was then that two officers approached the gates and demanded to be introduced to the duke de Nemours. The commandant conducted them to the pavilion d'Horloge, where the duke was standing, in company with several general officers. Every countenance betrayed alarm and apprehension. "Your Highness," said the commandant,

"these citizens desire to suggest to you the means of avoiding the effusion of blood." "Speak, gentlemen," said the duke, in a faltering voice; "say, what must be done?" "Sir, the château must be evacuated, and given up to the national guard, or you are lost; the combat will be dreadful,—the palace is surrounded." The result was the order we have before mentioned for withdrawing the troops.

The following interesting account of the king's flight given by M. Charles Maurice, editor of the *Courrier des Spectacles*.

'About one o'clock in the afternoon, a young man in plain clothes, who turned out to be the son of Admiral Baudin, on horseback, trotted past at a quick pace, crying out that Louis Philippe had abdicated, and requesting that the news might be circulated. A few instants after, at the Pont Tournant, a troop of national guards on horseback were seen coming from the Tuileries, at a walking pace, and forming the head of a procession, and by gestures and cries inviting the citizens to abstain from every unfavourable demonstration. At this moment, the king Louis Philippe, his right arm passed under the left arm of the queen, on whom he appeared to lean for support, was seen to approach from the gate of the Tuileries, in the midst of the horsemen, and followed by about thirty persons in different uniforms. The queen walked with a firm step, and cast around looks of assurance and anger intermingled. The king had on a black coat, with a common round hat, and wore no orders. The queen was in full mourning. A report was circulated that they were going to the Chamber of Deputies to depose the act of abdication. Cries of 'Vive la réforme!' 'Vive la France!' and even, by two or three persons, 'Vive le roi!' were heard. The procession had scarcely passed the Pont Tournant, and arrived at the pavement surrounding the obelisk, when the king, the queen, and the whole party, made a sudden halt, apparently without any necessity. In a moment they were surrounded by a crowd on foot and horseback, and so pressed that they had no longer their freedom of motion. Louis Philippe appeared alarmed at this sudden approach. In fact, the spot fatally chosen by an effect of chance produced a strange feeling. A few paces off, a Bourbon king, an innocent

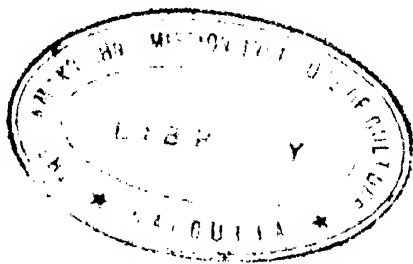
and resigned victim, would have been happy to have experienced no other treatment. Louis Philippe turned quickly round, let go the queen's arm, took off his hat, raised it in the air, and cried out something, which the noise prevented being heard; in fact, the cries and *pêle-mêle* were general. The queen became alarmed at no longer feeling the king's arm, and turned round with extreme haste, saying something which was also lost, and pushing back a hand which was extended near her, "I urge her to proceed, she exclaimed, '*Laissez moi!*' (leave me alone,) with a most irritated accent, and seizing hold of the king's arm, they both turned their steps towards two small black carriages, with one horse each. In the first were two young children. The king took the left and the queen the right, and the children, with their faces close to the glass of the vehicle, looking at the crowd with the utmost curiosity; the coachman whipped his horse violently; in fact, with so much rapidity did it take place that the coach appeared rather carried than driven away; it passed, surrounded by the cavalry and national guards present, and cuirassiers and dragoons. The second carriage, in which were two ladies, followed the other at the same pace, and the escort, which amounted to about two hundred men, set off at a full gallop, taking the water-side, towards St. Cloud. The horse in the coach in which the king was could not have gone the whole way, so furiously did he gallop under the repeated lashes of the coachman, whilst the surrounding crowds vociferated that they were taking flight."

It now only remained for those who yet adhered to the monarchy to endeavour to establish the claim of the young count of Paris to the throne.

For this purpose, a little after one o'clock on the 24th, the duchess of Orleans, with the two princes her sons, &c. accompanied by the dukes of Nemours and Montpensier, entered the Chamber of Deputies. After they had taken their seats, M. Dupin ascended the tribune, and said,—“The king has abdicated; he has disposed of the crown in favour of his grandson, the count de Paris, and has constituted the duchess of Orleans regent.” Considerable applause followed, mingled with cries of disapprobation, amid which a stentorian voice exclaimed—“*It is too late!*” An agitation which it is impossible to describe

now arose, and was quickly converted into a tumult by the forcible entrance into the chamber of a crowd of the lowest of the population, some in blouses, with dragoons' helmets on their heads, others with cross-belts and infantry caps, others in ordinary clothes, but all armed with weapons of various kinds. Their conduct, as might be expected, was of the most violent and menacing description, so that the persons immediately around the duchess and her children now endeavoured to persuade her to quit the chamber, and in a few minutes she did so, accompanied by her sons and the dukes of Nemours and Montpensier.

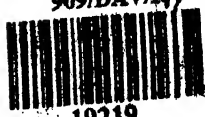
About nine o'clock in the evening, the act proclaiming the republic and constituting the provisional government was posted in all the public places of Paris; and thus, after a reign of seventeen years and a half, fell Louis Philippe of Orleans, first king of the French.



THE END.



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